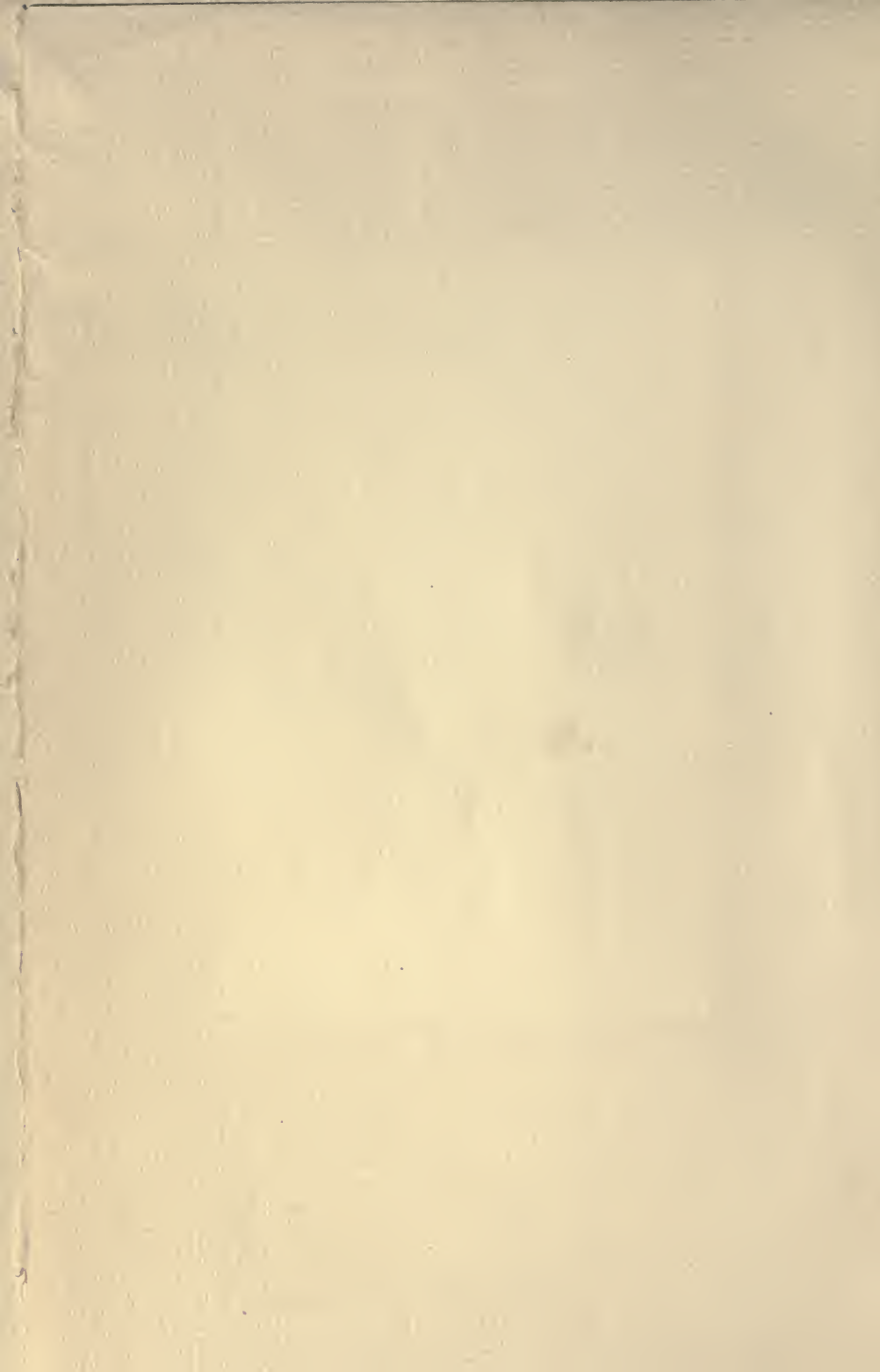




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THE
HISTORICAL
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REMARKS
ON
THE
LIFE
AND
REIGN
OF
HENRY
STUART
CARDINAL
DUKE
OF
YORK



HENRY STUART, CARDINAL DUKE OF YORK.

Frontispiece,

THE STORY OF THE ENGLISH CARDINALS

BY THE

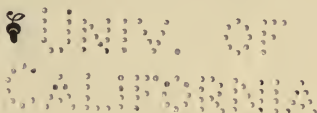
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RECTOR OF HARDINGHAM, AND SOMETIME FELLOW OF CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

AUTHOR OF

'THE STORY OF THE LATER POPES,' 'ROADS FROM ROME,' 'ROADS TO CHRIST,'

'STORIES OF GRACE,' ETC.



LONDON

ELLIOT STOCK, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

1907

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'It was never merry in England whilst we had
Cardinals amongst us.'—DUKE OF SUFFOLK, A.D. 1529.

TO VIII
ANNO 1529

RH

PREFACE

THE clergy of the highest position in the Roman Church are called 'Cardinals,' because they are nearest in position to that hinge (*cardo*) by which the whole Church depends and by which it is moved—*i.e.*, the Pope.

In the early Middle Ages the office of Cardinal was very different from what it afterwards became. The red hat, with its magnificent tassels, did not appear till 1245, when it was granted by Innocent IV. The purple cloak was assigned to the Cardinals in 1464 by Paul II., but they did not receive the title of 'Eminence' until it was conferred upon them by Urban VIII., in 1630. In the earlier days they were not 'Princes of the Church,' but simply the principal clergy of Rome, who acted as counsellors to the Bishop or Pope, and who from the time of Nicholas II. (1058-1061) had the exclusive privilege of electing the Pope. The inferiority of the early Cardinals is evident from the fact that Pandulph, who was himself not

a Cardinal, exercised as Papal Legate supreme authority over the Cardinal-Archbishop Langton. Although in later times Archbishop Wolsey was always addressed as 'My Lord Cardinal,' and spoken of as 'Cardinal Wolsey,' yet Archbishop Langton seems to have dropped the title of Cardinal when he assumed the then higher dignity of Archbishop of Canterbury.

With the exception of Stephen Langton the earlier Cardinals were not very remarkable men, and the office of Cardinal was not regarded in England as of surpassing honour until the beginning of the fifteenth century. From that time many eminent ecclesiastical lawyers were made Cardinals, and as Lord Chancellors were the virtual Prime Ministers of England. Altogether seven Cardinals held the Great Seal of England, seven were Archbishops of Canterbury, and three were Archbishops of York; but some held more than one of these exalted positions.

For two centuries (1360-1560) the story of the Cardinals is intimately bound up with the history of England, and it has been found necessary to give many historical details in their story. Among the books used 'The Dictionary of National Biography' naturally occupies the chief place, and for those who were Lord Chancellors or Archbishops of Canterbury, Lord Campbell's

‘Lives of the Chancellors’ and Dean Hook’s ‘Lives of the Archbishops’ have been carefully studied. A few lesser details are taken from the somewhat meagre and very one-sided biographies of ‘England’s Cardinals’ by Dudley Baxter, and a list is given of the other books to which I am indebted.

The Portraits of the Cardinals and the Medals have been copied from those in the British Museum, with the exception of the Medal of the Armada, which has been kindly supplied by Mr. John Murray.

The plan of the present volume is the same as that of ‘The Story of the Later Popes.’ It is a story rather than a history ; yet it is hoped that it contains useful information concerning the dealings of the Papacy with England. ‘The Story of the Cardinals’ has been told without exaggeration and without any desire to paint their characters in the darkest colours, but it should be a sufficient warning to any who may be fondly inclined to wish for a reunion with the Roman Church as she at present exists.

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CHAPTER I

CARDINAL ROBERT PULLEN (1144—1147)

THE first English Cardinal of whom we have any record was one worthy of all praise. His name in Latin was Pullus; in English it is variously spelled as Pullen, Pullun, or Pully. Robert Pullen was born at Exeter, and in 1133 went to Oxford, and, we are told, 'began to read the Holy Scriptures, the study of which had become obsolete in England.' That good foundation of Bible knowledge doubtless made him the man he afterwards became.

In the twelfth century the French Universities of Paris, Laon, and Chartres were the three principal centres of learning in Western Europe. It was to Paris that Pullen went, and there became teacher of logic and theology. Among his pupils was John of Salisbury, who was by far the most distinguished English scholar of his times, and, indeed, was among the most learned men in Europe. He speaks in the kindest terms of his master, and describes him as a man 'whom his life and learning commended.'

In 1134 Pullen was appointed Archdeacon of Rochester, but he does not appear to have gone to England, or to have performed his archidiaconal duties ; and in consequence of his non-residence, the Bishop of Rochester thought fit to sequester the revenues attached to the archdeaconry. This called forth a letter of gentle remonstrance from St. Bernard of Clairvaux,* whose hymns, especially 'Jesus, the very thought of Thee,' have been so loved and used by all true Christians. The letter of Bernard is a beautiful example of Christian courtesy. It is well worth perusing, both for its own sake and for the appreciation which it shows of Robert Pullen. It runs as follows :

To the Bishop of Rochester.

'You write harshly to me, though I deserve it not. How have I sinned? If I asked Master Robert Pullen to spend some time at Paris on account of the wholesome teaching which characterizes him, it was because I thought it necessary to do so, and I think so still. Whereas I formerly asked your Sublimity to permit it, I would ask again, if I did not perceive that you were offended by my request. Whereas I said that the man was supported by the favour of friends, whose influence with the *Curia* is by no means small, I said it because I feared for you, and

* St. Bernard, 'Epistles,' 205.

I still fear for you. For after the appeal had been made, you stretched out your hands, as we have heard, on the goods of the appellant, and in this I did not praise you, nor do I praise you. Yet I did not advise, nor do I advise, him to act contrary to your will in anything. But we are ever at your service to sustain your dignity with all fitting veneration. And since we have this testimony of our conscience, we still venture to ask and advise you that Master Pullen may remain sometime longer at Paris with your full permission and favour. May the Lord reward thee in the life eternal ; for thou hast refreshed my bowels ! I speak as to my sons, whom we sent to Ireland.'

Pullen, however, did not stay longer at Paris. He was summoned by Innocent II. to higher duties at Rome, and had no further need of his English archdeaconry. The next year (1144) he was created Cardinal by the short-lived Celestine II., and in the following year was made Chancellor of the Roman Church by the equally short-lived Lucius II.

In 1145, Eugenius III., the friend and pupil of St. Bernard, was elected Pope ; and again a letter of St. Bernard, written this time directly to Cardinal Pullen, throws great light upon the characters of both men. The letter abounds in Scriptural phrases and quotations, and overflows with love, which we may well believe was shared

by his correspondent. It is indeed cheering to read how in these dark and wicked times God still had His secret ones, who loved His Word and knew His ways. Nothing can be more touching than the affectionate fear of the master lest his pupil should be uplifted by his elevation to the Papacy, and that the good seed of the Word should be choked by the many worldly cares inevitably attached to his position. On the other hand, St. Bernard's implicit trust in the piety and wisdom of Cardinal Pullen is very manifest by the fact of his entrusting him with the task of acting as the Pope's friend and adviser. The letter is as follows :*

‘To our dearest friend and lord Robert, by the grace of God Cardinal-priest and Chancellor of the Holy See, your brother Bernard, called Abbot of Clairvaux, sends greeting and fervent prayers.

‘We have received the letter of your Belovedness with such feelings as might be expected in us who hold your memory in benediction, and we do not think that you need any words of human compliment from us or that you need write any letters of compliment to us : for, unless I mistake, the Spirit of truth gives us both a sure witness how sincerely we love you and are loved by you—that Spirit, I mean, by whom love is shed abroad in our hearts. Blessed be God, who according to

St. Bernard, ‘Epistles,’ 362.

His mercy hath prevented our Eugenius (or rather His Eugenius) with the blessing of sweetness to prepare him, as it were, to be a lamp for His Christ, and to send forth a faithful man to be His helper and also our own great consolation !'

St. Bernard goes on to say how great was his grief at losing Eugenius, but now he sees the meaning of the words, 'What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter,' and proceeds thus to exhort the Cardinal :

'Wherefore be anxious, my beloved friend, on behalf of him to whom the Lord has ordained thee to be a friend and counsellor, and according to the wisdom which is given thee watch cautiously, lest peradventure in the bustle of such manifold cares he may be entangled by the fraud of the wicked, and the Word be snatched away from him, which would indeed be unworthy of the Apostleship of Eugenius.

'Come then, I say, most dearly beloved, remember the position you hold and the dignity to which you have attained ; exercise the Divine zeal that is in you manfully and wisely for the glory of God, for your own salvation, and the good of the Holy Church, that you also may be able to say, "His grace which was bestowed upon me was not in vain." . . . Be careful, therefore, dearly-beloved and longed-for Father, even in this dispensation to be found a faithful and wise servant of God, so that with the harmlessness of the dove

and the wisdom of the serpent you may strive against the poisonous wiles of the devil on behalf of that spouse of the Lord which is entrusted to your faithfulness and care. I have much to say to you, but there is no need of a long letter, when you can listen to the living voice. Therefore, I will no longer intrude upon your business and mine. I have delivered my words to the brethren who give you this letter. Hear them as if myself. Farewell.'

Not long after, in 1147, the Cardinal Pullen passed away. His chief literary work consists of eight volumes of 'Theological Maxims' written against the views of Abelard. It was printed by the Benedictine Fathers at Paris in 1655, and has been reprinted by Migne. A manuscript volume of Cardinal Pullen's sermons is preserved in Lambeth Library. They are of a very ascetic character, and were evidently composed for the benefit of scholars rather than for popular use.

CHAPTER II

CARDINAL NICHOLAS BREAKSPEAR : ADRIAN IV.
(1146—1159) AND CARDINAL BOSO BREAK-
SPEAR (c. 1155—1181)

NICHOLAS BREAKSPEAR is remarkable as the only Englishman who ever became Pope. His early history is obscure. His father was a poor man, who entered the monastery of St. Albans as lay-brother or servant. The young Nicholas, unable to obtain admission as a novice, started with great resolution to make his way to Paris as far as possible on foot. There he studied for some years, maintaining himself as 'a poor scholar' by soliciting alms. He next made his way to Arles, where he was received as a poor protégé of the Premonstratensian Order, and finally was admitted into the Augustinian House of Canons Regular at St. Rufus, near Valence.

The young Englishman at once began to make his way by his industry and genius, till he rose from the humble and almost menial position of

lay-brother to be elected first as Prior and in 1137 Lord Abbot of the Community. But the rule of the foreigner was too strict for the French monks, and once and again they carried their complaints against Abbot Nicholas to Pope Eugenius III. at Rome. The first time the Pope was able to make peace between the two parties ; but on the occasion of the second complaint, Eugenius, who had himself been trained under the rule of the strict and holy St. Bernard of Clairvaux, recognized the true state of the case, and raised the Abbot of the obscure monastery of St. Rufus to the dignity of Cardinal-Bishop of Albino in 1146.

Soon afterwards Cardinal Breakspear was sent as Legate Apostolic to Norway, in response to the royal request, to promote peace between Church and State by reorganizing the hierarchy and cementing the bonds of union between the Northern kingdoms and the Holy See. On his way northward Breakspear visited his native land, and so was the first English Cardinal to set foot on English soil.

The mission of Cardinal Breakspear was very successful. He completely reformed and reorganized the Norwegian Church, founded the See of Drontheim, and transferred thither the Bishop of Stavanger as Metropolitan. As all islands were within the special jurisdiction of the Pope, there

were at this time included in the province of the Archbishop of Drontheim, Iceland, Greenland, the Faroe Islands, the Orkneys and Shetlands, the Hebrides, and even the Isle of Man. The Cardinal showed great skill in pacifying civil strife, and in the ecclesiastical arrangements which he advised, and which were accordingly carried out. He then visited Sweden and Denmark, and appeased the Archbishop of Lund, from whose province Norway had now been separated, by giving him the title of Primate of all Scandinavia, together with other new privileges.

On his return to Rome, in 1154, Cardinal Breakspear was hailed as the Apostle of the North, and on the death of Pope Anastasius IV. he was unanimously elected by the Conclave as Sovereign Pontiff. He was enthroned on Christmas Day, 1154, under the name of Adrian IV., and took for his motto Psalm xix. 13. On hearing of his election, King Henry II. sent the Abbot of St. Albans with three English Bishops bearing a letter of congratulation to the English Pope, and conjuring him to fulfil worthily the office of Universal Pastor, and to summon assistance to deliver the Holy Land from the infidels.

It was not with a light heart that Adrian ascended the Papal throne. He knew full well that no easy task lay before him; but, though

naturally a man of mild and kindly bearing, he was prepared boldly to face the difficulties of the position, and to uphold the claims of the Papacy in the loftiest spirit of a second Hildebrand.

At that time the Roman people were greatly under the influence of the preaching of an Italian monk named Arnold of Brescia. This remarkable man was a disciple of Abelard, and full of reforming ideas. He instilled republican notions into the minds of the Roman people, and urged them to overthrow the temporal power of the Popes, and to adopt a republican form of government for themselves. At the same time William, the Norman King of Sicily, was refusing any longer to recognize the suzerainty of the Pope, while the Greeks in Apulia were also threatening to assert themselves against the Papal authority.

A crisis soon arrived. As the Cardinal Gerard was on his way to visit the Pope, the Roman republicans beset him in the street and grievously wounded him. Instantly Adrian left Rome for Anagni, and took the unprecedented step of laying the holy city under an interdict. Immediately all services ceased in every church and basilica. Pilgrims no longer came to worship at the deserted shrines. Easter was drawing near, but no preparation was being made for the grand ceremonial usual at the services of the Holy

Week. Then the people rose. They could bear no longer the loss of their accustomed festivals. They banished Arnold of Brescia, and compelled the Senators to make humble submission to the Pope, and to entreat him to return. Adrian acceded to their request, and to the joy of Rome returned in time to celebrate pontifically at Easter in the Lateran.

Meanwhile William, the Norman King of Sicily, was ravaging the Campagna, and at the same time the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa was invading Italy from the North, and forcing the Lombard cities into submission to the imperial rule. The Pope in his extremity turned to the Emperor, and besought him to capture Arnold, and to help him against his enemies. The Pope and Emperor met each other at Sutri, but, as Frederick did not come forward to take the bridle of the Pope's horse and hold the stirrup while he dismounted, Adrian refused to give him the kiss of peace. For some days a fierce quarrel raged between the two potentates, but at last Frederick, who had set his heart on being crowned at Rome by the Pope as Emperor and King of the Romans, gave way, and led the Pope's white palfrey in the sight of the whole German army, and assisted him to dismount in the orthodox manner.

Pope and Emperor then proceeded together to

Rome; but when the Envoys of the Roman Senate met Frederick, and asked him to respect the rights of the city, they were contemptuously dismissed. The Pope entered the Leonine City, and the Emperor encamped on Monte Mario, while the people maintained a sullen silence. During the night 1,000 chosen German horsemen secured all the gates of the Leonine City, and at early dawn the Emperor entered in battle array, and was crowned in St. Peter's by the Pope. When the people heard the news of the coronation, they rushed to wreak their vengeance on the Pope in his palace; but Frederick was prepared for the assault, and drove back the mob after a bloody conflict. It is sad to relate that Adrian used his opportunity to urge the execution of Arnold of Brescia, who was accordingly surrendered by Frederick to the Roman Prefect, by whom he was burnt as a heretic, and his ashes thrown into the Tiber.

The Pope then urged Frederick to attack William of Sicily, but the German troops were suffering so severely from the effects of the hot Italian summer, that the Emperor was forced to retire northwards, and Adrian was compelled to make terms with King William, who took an oath of fealty to the Pope in return for certain privileges accorded to him.

The winter of 1156-57 was spent by Adrian at Viterbo. He took advantage of the short interval of peace to seek a reconciliation between the Eastern and the Roman Churches. Much correspondence took place between the Greek Emperor, Manuel Comnenus, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Pope, and an arrangement seemed possible, when a serious misunderstanding arose between Adrian and the Emperor Frederick.

The Archbishop of Lund, whom Adrian when Cardinal had made Primate of all Scandinavia, came to Rome to pay his respects to the Pope, and to visit the tombs of the Apostles. On his return journey through Germany, the Archbishop was taken captive by some German noble and held prisoner for a ransom, while the Emperor remained passive, and failed to interfere on his behalf. Adrian then sent the Cardinals Bernard of St. Mark and Roland of St. Clement to remonstrate with Frederick. Cardinal Roland at once angered the Emperor and his Court by saying, 'Our blessed Father Pope Adrian and the whole College of Cardinals salute you, he as your Father, and they as your Brethren.' He went on to hand the Pope's letter to the Emperor, in which he reminded him how the Holy Roman Church had received him in a former year, *'most willingly conferring upon thee the distinction of the imperial*

crown,’ and assuring him of her desire to confer ‘*even greater benefices*’ if it were possible.

The phrases ‘conferring’ and ‘benefices’ were technical terms used in feudal law, and seemed to imply that the Empire was a fief of Rome. Angry cries at once arose from the Teutonic nobles. But Roland boldly exclaimed: ‘From whom, then, does the Emperor hold the Empire, if not from the Pope?’ At this the Count Palatine, Otto of Bavaria, would have cut the Cardinal down with his sword, had not the Emperor interfered, and with some difficulty saved the lives of the Legates. The Pope’s Envoys were sent back to Rome straightway, and Frederick issued a noble manifesto, which he published throughout the Empire, declaring that ‘the kingdom together with the Empire, is ours by the election of the Princes from God alone . . . and since the Apostle Peter informed the world with this teaching, “Fear God, honour the King,” whoever shall say that we received the imperial crown as a benefice from the Lord Pope contradicts the Divine institutions and the teaching of Peter, and shall be guilty of a lie.’

More angry correspondence passed between the offended parties, till the Emperor determined to assert his own paramount authority in his own dominions, and ordered the imperial Chancery to

change its style in addressing the Pope. The Emperor's name was always to be placed first, and according to the more ancient usage the Pope was to be addressed in the singular number as 'thou' instead of the plural 'you.' This the Pope had done in his own letters to Frederick.

It was the last drop in the cup of his humiliation, and Adrian felt the so-called insult deeply. However, he dissembled his wrath, and wrote personally to the Emperor, laying stress on his claim to be regarded as the Father of all Christendom, and quoting the fifth commandment in support of his authority. The letter as given in Latin by Palatius is so characteristic of Papal claims and the Papal use of Scripture, that a translation is here given in full :

‘Adrian, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Frederick, the Roman Emperor, greeting and Apostolic benediction.

‘As the Divine law promises long life to those who honour their parents, so does it hold out the sentence of death to those who curse father or mother. Moreover, we are taught by the Word of truth that every one who exalteth himself shall be abased. Wherefore, my dear Son in the Lord, we are not a little astonished at your lack of wisdom, in that you do not seem to show proper respect to the Blessed Peter and the Holy Roman Church. For in the letters which you have sent

to us, you place your name before ours, and so incur the stigma of insolence, not to say arrogance. What shall I say of the way in which you observe your fealty to the Blessed Peter and Us, which you promised with an oath : when you require homage and exact fealty from those who are Gods and all sons of the Most High, to wit, the Bishops, and take their consecrated hands into your own hands, and having become openly hostile to Us you exclude not only from the churches but even from the States of your Empire the Cardinals sent directly from our Person? Repent, repent, as we counsel you ; for we fear for your Majesty, lest you should lose the consecration and the crown, which we conferred on you, by seeking to grasp privileges which we did not confer.'

To this Frederick replied at some length, showing that he too could quote Scripture on his side. He began thus : ' Frederick, by the grace of God Emperor of the Romans, ever Augustus,' and went on to say that he adhered to all that Jesus began both to do and teach, and that he was far from being an undutiful son to his proper parents, and therefore could not come under the curse pronounced upon the disobedient, but that he declined to recognize any filial obligation towards the Pope. He reminded him of the words of his Divine Master, who said, ' I am meek and lowly in heart,' and bade the Pope follow His example. ' The Bishops are gods and sons of God,

but they hold of Us all they possess. He, who had received nothing from men, paid tribute for Himself and St. Peter ; and you would have the Bishops and the clergy, who hold of Us all that they possess, to be free from all tribute. But they shall either return what they have received and hold of Us, or they shall render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's.' If, he continued, he had expelled the Cardinals, it was because they came not as preachers of the Gospel, but as insatiable seekers after gold, and with words which showed that 'the detestable heart of Pride had crept into the chair of Peter' ; and so the Emperor concluded as 'Ever anxiously seeking the peace of the Church, we bid you farewell.'

The counsels of Bishop Eberhard of Bamburgh prevented an immediate rupture, but after several fruitless negotiations Adrian retired to Anagni. He there prepared to take the field at the head of the enemies of Frederick, and had caused a Bull of excommunication to be made ready, when he himself suddenly died on September 1, 1159.

As regards English affairs, Adrian is celebrated for his grant of the overlordship of Ireland to King Henry II. The King had sent an Embassy, including the famous John of Salisbury, to lay before the Pope his desire to further civilize Ireland, and to bring the Irish Church more fully

into subjection to the Pope. Adrian, in a letter Apostolic, greatly commends the pious design of the King, and reminds him that not only Ireland but all islands which received the Christian faith undoubtedly belonged to St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church, and therefore he granted the King's petition, and approved his design of invading Ireland and making himself master of the country on his undertaking to pay a penny on each inhabited house as tribute to the Holy See.*

Adrian did not forget his early connexion with the Abbey of St. Albans, but exempted it from episcopal jurisdiction, and gave it precedence over both Glastonbury and Westminster, thus making it the first abbey of England.

The body of Adrian was removed to St. Peter's, and now lies in a red marble sarcophagus in the crypt with the simple inscription

HADRIANUS PAPA IIII.

Cardinal Boso (or Bozon) Breakspear was a nephew of Adrian IV. He had been a monk of St. Albans, but entered the service of the Papal *Curia* on the elevation of his uncle to the Pontificate. He was made Cardinal-Deacon about the year 1155, and was employed on several diplo-

* See Appendix A for the Bull in full.

matic missions, and at one time was entrusted with the charge of the Castle of St. Angelo.

Boso Breakspear was, we are told, one of the popular *trouvères*, or *troubadours*, who flourished in the twelfth century. The following verse, which is appended to a *Life of St. Agnes*, will give some idea of his style of writing and of the old French prevailing in his day :

‘ Ieo pri Agneis de Dieu cherie,
K’ele nus seit en ayde ;
E k’ele prie pur Bozun,
Ki ad descrit su passiun.’

It may be thus rendered :

‘ I have prayed Agnes, beloved of God, that she may be a helper to us ; and that she may pray for Bozun, who has described her passion [martyrdom].’

Boso Breakspear was made Cardinal-Priest by Alexander III., and his signature is seen attached to many Papal documents. Little is known of his career, and though an English Cardinal, he does not seem to have had any connexion with his native land after his elevation. He died at Rome about the year 1181.

CHAPTER III

STEPHEN LANGTON (1206—1228)

THE parentage and birthplace of the great Archbishop Stephen Langton are somewhat obscure. He is described in a letter of Pope Innocent III. as a 'man born of loyal and worthy parents,' and there is much reason to believe that he was a member of the ancient family of the Langtons of Langton, who have resided at Langton, near Spilsby, since the days of the Norman Conquest, and in whose family the name of Stephen is still kept up.

Early in life Stephen Langton went to study at the Theological School of the University of Paris, and became distinguished both as poet and scholar. He was also an earnest student of the Bible, as, indeed, is evident from his literary remains. At Paris he was looked upon as both wealthy and aristocratic, for he enjoyed a prebend of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, and one of the Cathedral of York, and is said by some to have become Chancellor of the University and Dean of

Rheims. His most intimate friend at this time was a young Italian nobleman named Lothaire.

John Lothaire, who belonged to the noble family of Conti, was elected Pope on January 8, 1198, under the title of Innocent III. He at once sent for his old college friend Stephen Langton, and invited him to come to Rome as a member of his household. It was with the greatest reluctance that Langton quitted Paris for Rome. On his arrival Innocent received him with open arms, and listened to his lectures with delight. The Pope was profoundly distressed at the corruption of the Roman Court, and, being anxious to have a man of unimpeachable integrity as well as of great learning as his counsellor, he appointed Langton as Cardinal-Priest of St. Chrysogonus in 1206. King John, who thought it well to have an English subject in the Papal Council, wrote himself to Innocent to congratulate the Pope on having made so good an appointment.

Soon afterwards the See of Canterbury fell vacant. The younger monks of the Chapter of Canterbury held a hasty meeting, and elected one of their number—the Subprior Reginald, whom they dispatched secretly to Rome to obtain the Papal investiture. The elder monks, having learnt the trick which had been played upon them, were justly indignant, and, with the consent of the

King, elected John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich. But the suffragan Bishops of the province then came forward, and, in the interests of the Church, claimed a voice in the election, insisting that it was monstrous that the monks of any monastic institution should elect the Primate of all England. All parties now appealed to the Pope, and in the presence of these disputes Innocent took the matter into his own hands. He gathered together all the members of the Chapter who were at Rome, and directed them to elect Stephen Langton by the plenary authority of the Holy See. Some demurred, alleging that the consent of the King was necessary, but Innocent sharply overruled their scruples, and in the end they elected Langton, the President of the Chapter alone dissenting.

In those days it was a long cry from Rome to London. King John was at once informed of the election, but three months elapsed before his Envoys arrived at Rome with his reply. They brought letters from the King expressing extreme indignation at the action of the Pope in annulling the election of John de Grey, and saying that Langton was a man unknown in England, who had spent most of his life in France among the enemies of Great Britain. The King threatened that, unless his wishes were carried out, he would prevent any English subject from going to Rome,

and would cut off all Papal supplies from English sources. Innocent answered the letter with haughty contempt, and at once proceeded to consecrate Langton as Archbishop at Viterbo on June 17, 1207.

Incensed at the Pope's action, John dispatched some armed knights to drive the monks of Canterbury from their home, and expel them from the land. Entering the cloisters, the knights exclaimed, 'Be gone, you traitors, or we will set fire to these walls and burn you and your convent together.' All that were able fled to Flanders, and their goods were confiscated to the Crown. The Pope answered by threatening an Interdict. The King, somewhat frightened, sent for the Archbishop's brother, Simon Langton, and promised to obey the Papal monition, but with a clause—'saving the royal dignity and rights.' The Pope would be satisfied with nothing short of unconditional surrender, and entrusted the Interdict to the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester as Papal Commissioners. On March 17, 1208, the Commissioners waited on the King and stated the Pope's commands. John, whose hasty temper was notorious, was now furious, and swore 'by God's teeth' to send all the Bishops and clergy packing out of England, if they dared to place his kingdom under an Interdict. The Commissioners then left

the royal presence, and next week published the Interdict and fled for their lives out of the country.

Cardinal Langton, finding all access to England closed against him, now took up his residence in the beautiful Cistercian abbey of Pontigny, which sheltered no less than three Archbishops of Canterbury — Thomas à Beckett in 1164, Stephen Langton, and Edmund Rich, who died there in exile in 1242. In this calm retreat Langton devoted himself to Biblical studies, and there is great reason to believe that we owe to his enforced leisure at Pontigny the division of the Bible into chapters. He wrote also several commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, particularly one on the twelve Minor Prophets, also a Life of Richard I., and a poem on the Creation, with other books.

The Papal Interdict, when fully carried out, was an awful punishment. The church bells were silenced and the church doors locked. The statues and pictures of the Saints were hung with black, marriages and baptisms were only solemnized by stealth in private houses, and the dead were silently buried in some road-side ditch. Three bishops—Winchester, Durham, and Norwich—refused to obey the Interdict, and certain of the clergy, who received many preferments for so doing, stood by King John. It was also noted as

remarkable that the most successful expeditions of this reign against Wales and Ireland took place during the continuance of the Interdict. But the Pope had yet another weapon, which he determined to make use of—viz., the personal excommunication of the King, cutting him off from the whole body of the faithful, and giving his kingdom to another. The Pope issued his awful sentence to three fugitive Bishops, but no prelate or priest in England dared to publish it. All the English ports were strictly watched to prevent any emissary of the Pope from landing with the Bull of excommunication. Yet the rumour spread. It was noised abroad that the King was ‘as an heathen man and a publican.’ One clergyman, the Archdeacon of Norwich, who was employed in the royal exchequer, was seized with conscientious scruples as to serving an excommunicated King. He was loaded with chains by the King’s order, and afterwards cased in a coat of lead, and died in agony in prison.

Still John held out. He did, indeed, try to make some compromise with Langton ; but when the Cardinal arrived at Dover, the King refused to see him, or to restore any of the confiscated Church property, whereupon Langton soon returned to France. Pontigny became the resort of all the injured and discontented nobles and gentry, who

flocked to Langton's side, and represented to him the unbearable state of things in England. Among many only too true tales of the King's wickedness, it was even said that to spite the Pope he intended to turn Mohammedan.

In the summer of 1212 Langton, accompanied by the Bishops of London and Ely, went to Rome, and besought the Pope to assist yet further the cause of the English Church. Thereupon Innocent formally pronounced the sentence of deposition against John, and directed Philip Augustus to carry it into effect. On his return from Rome, Stephen Langton, with his attendant Bishops, met the King of France with his nobles and clergy at a great assembly in Soissons. The English Bishops, with Langton as their spokesman, besought the French King to obey the Pope's decree, to take up arms, to dethrone the impious King of England, and to replace him by a worthier Sovereign. Philip Augustus accepted the mission, and forthwith began his preparations for the invasion of England.

Then in a wonderful way the nobles and people of England rallied round their King, and prepared to defend their country from foreign invasion. But John's guilty conscience would not let him trust his own subjects, and, to the surprise and indignation of all true patriots, he secretly sent for

Pandulph, the Papal Legate, and surrendered to the Pope on all points. John had now 'passed from the height of insolence to the lowest prostration of fear.' There were no bounds to his abject submission. He consented to hold the kingdom of England as a fief of the Holy See, with an annual payment of 1,000 marks, and promised to be 'faithful to God, St. Peter, and the Church of Rome, and to my liege lord Pope Innocent and his Catholic successors.'

The King now earnestly besought Langton to return with all the exiles at Pontigny. Accordingly, the Archbishop with the Bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, having received a safe conduct signed by the King and the barons, landed at Dover, and with a numerous cortège met the King at Winchester. As the Archbishop advanced towards the city's gates, John, who had now lost all sense of dignity, threw himself at the feet of the Cardinal, and with sobs implored his forgiveness. Langton, moved to tears, raised the prostrate monarch from the ground and went with the King to the Cathedral. There, in the chapter-house, John swore to defend the Church and to restore to her all confiscated property, and renewed his oath of fealty to the Pope and his successors, whereupon the Archbishop gave the King absolution and the kiss of peace, and entered the

cathedral, which was thronged with a waiting, praying multitude. For the first time for six years the Mass was performed in its almost forgotten splendour. But the kingdom was still under the Interdict, and Rome never quite forgave Langton for thus disregarding its provisions. For three days the rejoicings continued at Winchester, the Cardinal and the Bishops feasting daily at the royal table.

But all was not settled yet. Very soon a new Legate arrived, Nicholas, Cardinal of Tusculum, with special authority from the Pope to remove the Interdict on payment of a large sum, and to arrange the immense compensation to be made to the clergy. The Legate seems to have taken a spiteful pleasure in asserting his superiority to Langton in every way. By his own legatine authority he degraded the Abbot of Westminster, and in other ways acted in a most arbitrary manner. John, who hated Langton, was entirely on the side of the Legate. So that the detested Archbishop was humbled, John cared for nothing. He even gave his royal crown to the Legate before the high altar at St. Paul's, and made a formal deed of resignation of the kingdom of England and Ireland to the Pope. He was now the Pope's favoured vassal, who could do no wrong. It was indeed a surprising change.

Langton was snubbed and out of favour, while John was the true son of the Church, of whom Pandulph declared at Rome that 'of all the Kings of the earth he had never seen a character so humble, so moderate, so endued with excellence as John, King of England.' The Archbishop and his suffragans were now accused of acting unfairly towards this pious but much injured monarch. The Interdict was removed, and the Pope, to protect John from the Archbishop, issued a Bull declaring that none but the Pope himself might excommunicate the King. The Legate left the country amidst the curses of the people.

Neither the Pope nor the King knew Stephen Langton. They had seen him a patient suffering exile : they were now to see him as a powerful statesman and skilful organizer. Hitherto the barons of England, though deeply discontented with John, had lacked a head and organization. Langton taught them how to combine and form a House of Lords.

In 1213 the King summoned a Council of notables to meet at St. Albans. It was adjourned to St. Paul's, but before the second meeting the King had set out on an expedition to Poitou. Langton seized the favourable opportunity, and read to the assembled nobles the almost-forgotten charter of Henry I., which he said he had happily found in

a monastery. At his suggestion the barons swore to defend their forgotten rights, and if necessary to die for them. John now returned to England indignant at what had occurred in his absence. Civil war was imminent; for John had raised an army of mercenaries, and the barons had also taken the field. Langton then boldly entered the royal camp, and reminded the King of his oath at Winchester; but John refused to listen. 'Rule thou the Church,' he said, 'and leave me to govern the State.'

But the great bulk of the nation was against the King. In vain he struggled against Langton's well-laid plans. When the Archbishop read the petition of the barons, which he had himself largely composed for them, the King exclaimed in a fury: 'Why do they not ask for the crown? By God's teeth' (the favourite blasphemous oath of John), 'I will grant no liberties to those who want to make me their slave.' But the army of God and the Church grew apace under its able General, Robert FitzWalter. The King had no friend but Pandulph, and ultimately he was forced to sign and seal with the Great Seal the memorable document for protecting the liberties of England, known for ever as the Magna Charta. It was signed on June 15, 1215, and the first attesting witness was Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury,

who was followed by Henry, Archbishop of Dublin.

But John was not the man to submit without another struggle. As for his oath and signature, he cared little for that, and dispatched Pandulph at once to Rome to appeal to the Pope. Innocent was indeed enraged when he read the articles of the Charter, and swore by holy Peter that the barons of England should not go unpunished for having thus dared to outrage a King, who had placed himself under the protection of the Holy See. The Pope even issued a Bull by which he annulled and abrogated the whole Charter as unjust in itself, as obtained by violence, and as derogatory to the dignity of the Apostolic See. Langton, who dreaded the effect of Pandulph's representations, was already on his way to Rome to plead the cause of the patriots and himself before the Pope.

It was then, during Langton's absence, that John showed his true character. Having secured the Pope's favour, who was determined to support his vassal, whatever might be his iniquities, vices, and crimes, John poured out upon England a horde of unprincipled foreign mercenaries. Like wild beasts these savage men ravaged England from one end of the country to the other. They seized, tortured, robbed, nobles and priests alike. They

spared neither old age nor women nor children. They ransacked towns, cemeteries, and even churches, while plunder, murder, torture, rape, raged without control. Yet John still remained the faithful vassal of the Pope, who excommunicated and anathematized any of the barons who dared to oppose him.

Langton, strong in the consciousness of his own integrity and of his righteous conduct in opposing a perfidious, abominable, and sanguinary tyrant, was not afraid to present himself at Rome, and in his capacity of Cardinal to attend the fourth Lateran Council. He soon saw that the Pope's countenance was not toward him as heretofore. The emissaries of John had been beforehand with him. They had accused the Archbishop of wishing to dethrone the King, and Innocent had believed them. Langton was suspended from his high office by the Pope, and the sentence was ratified by the Council, and even when it was somewhat relaxed Langton was forbidden to return to England. He remained as a sort of State prisoner at Rome till after the death of the Pope and the King, who both died in the same year—
A.D. 1216.

Two years later the Archbishop was allowed by the new Pope, Honorius III., to return to England. He was warmly welcomed by the people, and by

his advice the young King Henry III. soon afterwards solemnly confirmed the Great Charter in the presence of the nobles and Langton, who again affixed his seal to it. Henry, who, in the absence of the Primate had been crowned, but not anointed, at Gloucester by the Papal Legate Gualo, was again crowned and also anointed by Langton in Westminster Abbey. The great act of Langton's life was the Magna Charta, and when, in 1223, one William Brewer had the temerity to say in the Council that the provisions had been extorted by force, and were therefore not binding on the new King, the aged Primate replied: 'William, if you really love the King, you will not seek to disturb the peace of the kingdom.' At these words the young King was much moved, and again promised that he would always act as he had sworn.

During his later years Langton gave himself up almost entirely to his ecclesiastical duties as Archbishop of Canterbury. He was at the head of the Commission appointed by the Pope to examine the miracles alleged to have been performed at the grave of Hugh, the late Bishop of Lincoln. Langton's report was so favourable that Honorius at once issued the Bull of canonization of St. Hugh of Lincoln, and exhorted 'all his faithful and beloved children in Christ devoutly to implore his mediation with God.'

Cardinal Langton also presided over one of the grandest ceremonies ever witnessed in Canterbury Cathedral, when the remains of the 'martyred' Thomas à Beckett were disinterred by night from their resting-place in the cathedral crypt, and were placed in an iron coffin by four of the holiest monks of Canterbury in the presence of the Archbishop. Next day the coffin was borne on the shoulders of 'four great lordlings, noble men and tried,' to the east end of the church, and was then placed in a gorgeous shrine of gold and silver set with precious stones. The young King himself was present with the Archbishop of Rheims, Primate of France, who preached the sermon; the Papal Legate Pandulph, Bishop of Norwich; the famous Lord High Justiciary, Hubert de Burgh; and a great multitude of 'simple men.' The day was enrolled among the great festivals of the English Church as the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Archbishop Langton, who had taken part in the fourth Lateran Council at Rome, now determined to summon an English Council, known as the Provincial Council of Osney, or Oxford (1222). Very remarkable were the enactments of this Council, which were doubtless due to Langton himself. In the preamble a sad picture of the times is presented to us. Excommunication

is declared to be *ipso facto* incurred by all who violate monasteries, seize the goods of clergymen or their tenants, or in any ways molest their persons, and especially by those *who keep robbers on their lands, in their castles or houses, or are sharers with them, or are lords over them*. One of the worst of these robber-chiefs was the ruffian Fulk de Breauté, who held several castles in England. By means of the immense wealth which he had acquired by violence, he purchased the support of the Pope, who even wrote a furious letter to Langton for having counselled the King to reduce the castles of Fulk in the interest of justice and the peace of the realm.

The canons passed by the Council of Osney deal with both the regular and secular clergy, and even with the Bishops, defining their dress and prescribing moderation in eating and drinking. Langton was of an ascetic disposition, and the canons of Osney dealt in the harshest way with the wives of the married clergy, styling them mere concubines, and insisting on their being put away immediately. All 'concubines,' unless they get them gone, are to be expelled from the Church, refused the sacraments, and even, added the austere Primate in his injunctions, denied Christian burial. The clergy who persisted in living with them were to be suspended, and

were to be subjected to severe penance before absolution was granted.

Some remarkable regulations were also made concerning the Jews. Both sexes were to wear prominently on the breast a patch of linen cloth of a different colour from the rest of their clothes, and they were forbidden to enter any church or to lodge their goods there. The last act of the Council was to degrade a deacon, who, in his mad love for a Jewess, had made himself a Jew, and to deliver him to the secular authorities to be burnt at the stake.

Yet once more a Papal Legate appeared in England to disturb the peace of the Church. A chaplain of the Pope, named Otho, was sent in the Pope's name in 1225 on a special mission to lay before the English Church the poverty of Rome, and to request that 'all should unite as natural children to relieve the needs of their Mother (the Roman Church) and their Father (the Pope).' The way in which Otho proposed that this should be done was, that in every collegiate church the revenue of one prebend, and in every cathedral church that of two prebends, together with a fixed sum from every monastery, should be reserved for Rome. Langton insisted that the matter should be referred to an English Council and to the King. The Council

was summoned to meet in London in the following spring. Meanwhile the Archbishop induced the Pope to recall Otho, and when the Synod met he laid before the assembly the Papal claims, and pointed out that the same demands had been made on the Church of France, but had been rejected by the French clergy.

It was resolved, therefore, by the King, the nobles, and the prelates, that the Archbishop should make the following wise and cautious reply to the Papal request: 'What the Lord Pope asks us to do is a matter which affects the whole Christian world. We are placed, as it were, on the very confines of the world, and consequently desire to see how other kingdoms will act in regard to these proposed exactions. When we shall have the example of what others do before our eyes, the Lord Pope will not find us more backward in obedience.' With this answer the Roman *Curia* had to rest content, and Langton was never again troubled by a Papal Legate or Nuncio.

Shortly before his death Archbishop Langton welcomed the Franciscan and Dominican Friars to England, and bade them preach to the people. Then, leaving the affairs of his diocese in the hands of his brother, Simon Langton, whom he had appointed Archdeacon of Canterbury, the

Cardinal retired to his country manor of Slindon, in Sussex. There he spent the evening of his days, until he passed away on July 9, 1228. He was buried in Canterbury Cathedral, where his simple tomb with its stone coffin is still to be seen in St. Michael's Chapel, half in and half out of the church. Notwithstanding the opposition made by Archbishop Langton to the exactions of Rome, Pope Honorius greatly extolled him when dead, saying that 'the custodian of the earthly paradise of Canterbury, Stephen of happy memory, a man pre-eminently endued with the gifts of knowledge and supernal grace, has been called, as we hope and believe, to the joy and rest of paradise above.'

Five years later Henry, Bishop of Rochester, declared that he had seen in a vision the souls of Stephen Langton and King Richard I. released from Purgatory on the same day.

CHAPTER IV

CARDINAL ROBERT CURZON (1212—1218) AND
CARDINAL SOMERCOTE (1238—1241)

CARDINAL ROBERT CURZON, or, as his name is sometimes written, De Courçon, was born at Kedleston, in Derbyshire, in the latter part of the twelfth century. He was of a noble family, and studied with distinction both at Oxford and Paris. After visiting Rome, he was sent by Innocent III. on a mission to France, where he became Canon of Noyon in 1204, and of Paris in 1211. The next year he was created Cardinal-Priest with San Stephano on the Cœlian Hill as his titular church.

On his return to France, Cardinal Curzon, by the Pope's direction, actively exerted himself on behalf of the unhappy Queen Ingeborg. The King Philip Augustus had from the first conceived an extraordinary aversion to his Danish wife, and had again and again sought a divorce from her. But the Pope took the part of the Queen, and even used the terrible weapon of an

Interdict in order to force Philip to receive her again and treat her with due respect. Cardinal Curzon appears to have acted as the Queen's confessor and to have entirely taken her side.

In 1213 Curzon was appointed Legate *a latere* with the commission to preach a Crusade for the delivery of Jerusalem from the infidels.

Meanwhile he held a Council at Paris for the reformation of abuses. He specially denounced usurers and usury, and the King wrote to the Pope to complain of the Legate's attack upon them. Innocent replied that, though this was not precisely included in the Legate's commission, yet usury must be suppressed, that money might be forthcoming for the Crusade. Bishop Grosseteste remembered this action of the English Cardinal, and long after quoted Cardinal Curzon as one of the 'fathers and doctors' who had protested against usurious practices.

Curzon and his preachers attracted great crowds by attacking with much bitterness the rich nobles and wealthier clergy. They gave the Crusaders' cross to 'little children, old men and women ; to halt, blind, deaf, and lepers,' so that, the old chronicler says, the rich held back from offering themselves. At Limoges the Legate deposed the Abbot of St. Martial as incapable, and gave his office to another who offered half the treasure of

the abbey for the Crusade, together with a pension of twenty livres for the Canons of San Stephano.

By his success in preaching the Jerusalem Crusade, Curzon diverted both money and men from the crusade against the Albigenses, and so greatly offended Simon de Montfort and his party. He also gave great offence by his action as French Ambassador after the Battle of Bouvines. It was thought that if Philip had followed up his success he might have crushed his enemy, and that Cardinal Curzon, in arranging terms of truce ostensibly for the sake of the Crusade, had acted more in favour of his native land than of his adopted country, and had arranged the treaty as 'one Englishman with another.' He also incurred the displeasure of the Pope by taking the part of the lay-brethren of the Convent of Grammont against the Prior.

As it had become impossible for Curzon to carry on his plans for the Eastern Crusade after the Battle of Muret, he joined the crusade against the Albigenses. He marched with the army of Guy de Montfort, and Marseilles surrendered to him as Papal representative. Seven persons were brought before him, who confessed that they were heretics. They were delivered over to the secular arm, and we read 'the crusaders burnt them with exceeding joy.'

In 1215 the Cardinal-Legate summoned another Council of the Gallican Church at Bourges. But the clergy accused him at Rome of wantonly annoying the Bishops, and of interfering with the rights of the cathedral Chapters. Innocent in consequence sent him a sharp reproof. Curzon continued to act as Legate, though he was so unpopular, that the people of Cahors shut the gates of their city against him.

In 1218 the Count of Nevers asked Pope Honorius III. to appoint a Legate to accompany a large body of Crusaders who were about to sail for the Holy Land. Honorius sent Cardinal Curzon, not indeed as Legate, but to preach and minister to the soldiers. He sailed in August and arrived at Damietta, in Egypt, where he died somewhat suddenly.

Cardinal Curzon is perhaps chiefly known as having practically founded the celebrated University of Paris. He suggested to the French King to unite the various schools of Law, Medicine, and Theology, under the title of *Universitas Literarum*, and obtained a charter from Pope Innocent, who had been his fellow-student in the schools of Paris, and thus Cardinal Curzon founded the first University, in the modern sense of the word.

CARDINAL ROBERT SOMERCOTE, sometimes called Unmancote, was born in the South of England. Archbishop Stephen Langton gave him a rent in a church at Croydon as his first preferment. He afterwards went to study at Bologna, and was 'provided' with the revenues of the rectory of Caistor, in Norfolk. He then became an official of the Roman *Curia* and remained for the rest of his life at the Papal Court. In 1238 he was created Cardinal by Gregory IX.

Between Pope Gregory and the Emperor Frederick II. there was continual conflict. The Pope excommunicated Frederick as a traitor to the Church for refusing to take up the Crusade when required ; and the Emperor retaliated by calling the Pope a wolf in sheep's clothing, and 'a bloodsucker deceiving the people with horrid words.' In this way rebellion was stirred up, and Gregory was obliged to flee to Spoleto. When nearly all his friends abandoned the overhasty and imperious Pope, the English Cardinal Somercote was one of the few who remained faithful and clave to him in all his adversities.

On the death of Gregory IX., many fixed their thoughts on Cardinal Somercote as a candidate for the Papacy ; but he himself, in the interests of peace, advocated the claims of Godfrey of Milan, a prelate of gentle character and profound learning,

who was elected under the title of Celestine IV. This Pope only reigned for seventeen days, but in those few days Cardinal Somercote died—on September 26, 1241. As usual in those evil days, his sudden and somewhat early death was attributed to poison. He is described by the old chronicler Matthew Paris as the most eminent of the Cardinals, and it is thought that the Italian Cardinals feared that he would be elected Pope at the next vacancy.

Cardinal Somercote, though wholly occupied in the service of the Pope and the Roman *Curia*, did not forget the land of his birth. Matthew Paris tells us that he sharply rebuked the Norman noble, Simon Cantelupe, for daring to charge the English with bad faith. It was also due to his intervention that Haymo of Faversham obtained a hearing from the Pope during his suit against Frater Helias in 1239. Cardinal Somercote was buried in the Basilica of St. Chrysogonus at Rome.

CHAPTER V

CARDINAL ROBERT KILWARDBY (1278—1279)

VERY little is known of the early days of this Cardinal, and his cardinalate was of the shortest duration. Yet his life is not without interest, for he was the first of the English mendicant Friars to occupy the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury, and also the first to be named Cardinal.

He was a thorough Englishman, as may be gathered from his very English name, and it was recorded with much satisfaction that, unlike his foreign predecessor, Boniface of Savoy, the new Primate was *Gente Anglus*. According to the custom of the day, Kilwardby was educated at the two Universities of Oxford and Paris. He there gained a certain reputation as a grammarian by insisting that such mistakes as *Ego currit, tu curro*, etc., were altogether inadmissible.

After a few years of secular teaching at Paris, Kilwardby felt a vocation to something higher. He wished to devote himself to theology and preaching, and so joined the Dominican Order, or

Black Friars, as they were called in England. The religious Orders were at that time at their very best. The Friars took their place among men of learning at the Universities, and went through the length and breadth of the land preaching and teaching. The broad-minded Archbishop, Stephen Langton, had recognized their value for that age, and had given them a hearty welcome to England.

Kilwardby settled down in one of the earliest houses of the Black Friars in the parish of St. Ebbe, Oxford. There he studied the Holy Scriptures and the early Fathers with his pupils, one of whom was the famous Thomas de Cantelupe, afterwards Bishop of Hereford. His favourite author was St. Augustine. He divided the greater part of his works into chapters, and prefixed a summary of the contents to each chapter. In 1261 he was chosen Provincial of the English Black Friars, and held this high office for eleven years. As English Provincial, he attended a general Chapter of the Order at Montpellier, where he was described as 'a great master of theology.'

In 1270 Boniface of Savoy, Archbishop of Canterbury, died. The monks of Canterbury at once hastened to elect as Archbishop their own Prior, Adam of Chillenden. But the Crown disallowed the appointment, and nominated Robert Burnell, the friend and Chancellor of Prince

Edward. Both parties appealed to Rome. The Pope, Gregory X., acting as a former Pope—Innocent III.—had done in the case of Stephen Langton, set both the rival candidates aside, and *motu proprio* appointed the Black Friar Robert Kilwardby to the vacant See. The Pope was a personal friend of Prince Edward, who therefore made no protest against this somewhat high-handed proceeding, and the appointment was generally popular in England, but a proviso was made by the King that this action of the Pope was not to be regarded as a precedent.

Unlike most great Churchmen of his day, Kilwardby took no active part in politics. It was, however, his great privilege to place the crown upon the head of one of England's best and greatest Kings, Edward I., and also to crown his noble and much-loved consort, the good Queen Eleanor. The coronation took place in the great abbey church of Westminster, then newly rebuilt, on August 19, 1274, amid a scene of universal and unusual feasting and rejoicing. As the Archbishop passed through the City, his chaplains went before him scattering handfuls of silver among the applauding multitude.

The only other occasion on which Archbishop Kilwardby took part in any political transaction was in 1276, when he joined with his suffragans

in inducing Llewelyn, the Prince of the Welsh, to perform his feudal duties to King Edward. When all remonstrance and entreaty failed, the Archbishop took the extreme step of excommunicating the Prince.

Yet another event marked the short episcopate of Kilwardby. It was the translation of the remains of Richard de la Wych, the pious and courageous Bishop of Chichester, who so nobly resisted the tyranny of Henry III. It speaks much for the good feeling of Edward I. that, anxious to repair the injustice of his father, he was himself present on this occasion, and presented four gold 'brooches' to the shrine of the newly canonized St. Richard of Chichester. Archbishop Kilwardby was assisted by most of his suffragan Bishops, when with all due ceremonial he caused the body of the saint to be moved—or, in ecclesiastical language, translated—to its silver-gilt shrine.

For the rest, the Archbishop attended zealously to his ecclesiastical duties, visiting officially all parts of his province with much acceptance. Wherever he went he examined the state of the monasteries, and as far as he could reformed their abuses. He never forgot in his exalted position his brethren the friars, and it was due to his influence that they were established in that part of London which still bears their name. For their

house and splendid chapel long since destroyed, they were indebted to the munificence of the Archbishop; but out of the tens of thousands who daily pass over Blackfriars Bridge, scarce one now remembers the name of Kilwardby.

In 1278 Pope Nicholas III., who greatly favoured the mendicant Friars, appointed Kilwardby as Cardinal-Bishop of Porto. Although the revenues of Porto were vastly inferior to those of Canterbury, the Archbishop accepted the appointment, and, after taking leave of his suffragans, set out for Italy, carrying with him 5,000 marks in gold which he had realized by selling to the King the crops and rents for the ensuing year. Unhappily, to the irreparable loss of English Church history, he also took with him all the registers and archives of Canterbury. He doubtless intended to restore them, but his sudden death, attributed by some to poison, threw everything into confusion, and his successor, Archbishop Peckham, sought in vain to recover the registers.

The last act of Cardinal Kilwardby was to write in the Pope's name several letters to 'the King of the Tartars,' in the hope of converting him to the Christian faith. The Cardinal's death took place in 1279, only a few months after his arrival in Italy. He was buried in the monastery of his Order at Viterbo.

CHAPTER VI

CARDINALS HUGH OF EVESHAM, WALTER
WINTERBOURNE, THOMAS JORZ (1287—1310)

THE three Cardinals named at the head of this chapter succeeded each other at short intervals. Though all were Englishmen by birth and race ; the short time during which each was Cardinal was almost wholly lived in Rome, or at least in Italy ; and they played no important part in English history. It will therefore be sufficient to give only a brief account of their several lives.

Even the name of Cardinal Hugh is uncertain. He is usually called Hugh of Evesham after the name of the small town in Worcestershire where he was born. By Latin writers he is called Atratus, and by French and Italian authors Lenoir and Il Nero, so that it is probable that his English name was Black.

He was educated at Oxford and Cambridge, completing his studies in the usual manner in France and Italy. He was specially proficient in mathematics and medicine, and became so famous as a medical authority, that he was known as

the 'Phoenix.' He seems also to have taken Holy orders and to have practised medicine as well.

In the year 1280, certain remarkable physical phenomena having taken place at Rome, 'Master Hugh' was summoned thither to give his advice, and was afterwards appointed private physician to the Pope. The following year Martin IV., whose idea of a Cardinal was merely that of a high officer in the temporal government of the Papacy, created Hugh a Cardinal.

Accordingly, the remaining years of Cardinal Hugh were spent at Rome in the service of the Pope. He also acted as proctor or agent for several of the English Bishops. Several letters addressed to Cardinal Hugh are to be found noted in the various episcopal registers in England, particularly in that of Archbishop Peckham at Lambeth.

As was the evil custom of those days, that he might duly maintain the dignity and state belonging to his position, Cardinal Hugh was 'provided' with the revenues of a Prebendary of York, Archdeacon of Worcester, and Rector of Spofforth, in Yorkshire. One of his sermons for Septuagesima Sunday still exists in the Bodleian Library. He died at Rome on July 27, 1287, not without suspicion of poison, and was buried in his titular church of San Lorenzo in Lucina.

Cardinal Walter Winterbourne, like his greater predecessor, Cardinal Kilwardby, was a member of the Dominican Order of Friar-preachers. He was elected in 1290 Provincial of the Order in England, and continued to hold that office for six years.

He was born at Old or New Sarum about the year 1225, and seems to have derived his name from one of the several villages called Winterbourne which lie round the city of Salisbury. Like Kilwardby, he was educated at Oxford and Paris, and at one of these Universities he took the degree of D.D. In 1294 he appears to have held the office of Remembrancer to King Edward I., and a few years later he is described as the King's confessor, and seems to have used his influence to secure Government posts and ecclesiastical benefices for his friends. It is also recorded that Winterbourne accompanied his royal master to Scotland, and was in attendance upon him at the great defeat of the Scots at the Battle of Falkirk (A.D. 1298).

On February 21, 1304, Benedict XI., who is sometimes called Benedict X., or even Benedict IX., created Winterbourne a Cardinal. The Dominicans were now at the height of their popularity and influence. Pope Benedict himself had been Provincial of the Order in Italy, and also Cardinal-

Priest of the Church of St. Sabina, which was the headquarters of the Dominicans at Rome ; and having heard of the integrity and learning of the English Provincial Winterbourne, he raised him to the same dignity, and gave him the same title as he himself had held.

The Cardinal was still in Scotland with the King when the news of his promotion arrived. Edward at once wrote a long letter of thanks to the Pope, but regretted that he could not then spare his chaplain, on account of some business which could not be conveniently transacted in his absence. There is an interesting note in the following spring that at Cardinal Winterbourne's request the King granted permission to the Oxford Dominican Friars to dig stones in Shotover Forest for the repair of their monastery.

In the autumn of 1305 Pope Benedict died, and Cardinal Winterbourne received the King's permission to attend the Conclave at Perusium. The King also commissioned a firm of Florentine bankers to provide the Cardinal with a sum of 1,000 marks to defray his expenses in Italy. After some months of wrangling between the Colonna and Orsini factions of the Italian Cardinals, a compromise was effected by which a French nobleman, Bertrand de Got, was elected, who took the name of Clement V. The new Pope

refused to come to Italy, and determined to remove the seat of Papal government to Avignon. He summoned the Cardinals, much against their will, to join him at Lyons and there assist at his coronation. The aged Cardinal Winterbourne was on his way to Lyons, in obedience to the Papal order, when he was seized with illness at Genoa, and, dying there, was buried in the church of his Order in that city.

The coronation of Clement V. was carried out as arranged at Lyons. It was celebrated with the utmost splendour, and it is recorded that Edward I. presented the new Pope with all the utensils for his chamber and his table made of the purest gold. Clement was emphatically a French Pope. In order to please the French King, to whose powerful influence he owed his election, he immediately proceeded to create no less than ten Cardinals, all of them natives of France, and at the same time, in acknowledgment of King Edward's splendid gift, he rewarded the bearer 'Thomas,' the King's new confessor, by creating him also a Cardinal.

This Thomas, known at the Papal Court as 'Thomas the Englishman,' had for his surname Jorz or Joyce. He was one of six brothers, all of whom joined the popular Dominican Order, and two of whom were in succession Archbishops of

Armagh. Thomas was educated at Oxford, and afterwards at Paris under the celebrated Albertus Magnus, the tutor of St. Thomas Aquinas. Whether the English Thomas was really, as has been asserted, a fellow-pupil with the Dominican 'Angelic Doctor,' St. Thomas Aquinas, is very doubtful, but he may have made his acquaintance in Paris, and some of his commentaries bear such a likeness to those of the great 'Doctor' that they have passed for his.

Returning to England, Thomas became Prior of the Oxford Dominicans, and eventually succeeded Winterbourne as Provincial of England, which post he held for seven years (1296 to 1303). During this period he attended, as Provincial, the General Chapters of the Order held at Marseilles in 1300, and at Cologne in 1301. In 1305 he was created Cardinal-Priest of St. Sabina, and appears to have spent the remainder of his life at the Papal Court acting as Proctor or representative of the English Government.

Thus, in 1307, Edward I. wrote to Cardinal Jorz asking him to urge on the canonization of Grosseteste, the great and good Bishop of Lincoln ; and later, in the same year, the King consulted him on matters concerning French politics. Edward II. also wrote several times to the Cardinal as to various actions of the Pope, and he

also desired the canonization of an English Bishop, Thomas de Cantelupe, of Hereford. In return for these diplomatic services an allowance from the treasury was made to the Cardinal of 100 marks per annum.

Cardinal Jorz was also several times employed by Clement V. on important judicial and administrative matters. In 1310 he was sent as Papal Envoy on a mission to the Emperor Henry VII., but, being taken ill on the way, he died somewhat suddenly at Grenoble on December 13. His body was brought to England and buried in the Church of the Dominicans at Oxford.

CHAPTER VII

CARDINAL SIMON LANGHAM (1368—1376)

SIMON LANGHAM is the first of a series of great Churchmen, who held at the same time the highest office both in Church and State, being at once Primate of England and Lord Chancellor of the realm.

The early history of this remarkable man is shrouded in obscurity. His very name is unknown, for on taking the monastic vows it was usual to drop the surname and to be called after the place of birth. Thus Simon Langham, or, as it is often written, De Langham, merely means Simon of Langham. Of the several parishes which bear this name, the little village of Rutlandshire, which is situated close to Oakham, has undoubtedly the best claim to be the Cardinal's birth-place, for to its church he left a legacy in his will.

We first meet with Simon of Langham in the Benedictine Monastery of Westminster. The Order to which he belonged was esteemed as the most learned and wealthiest, and the Monk Simon

was, it is plain, both learned and wealthy. In 1349 the Black Death, or Plague, devastated England. Twenty-seven monks of Westminster were among the victims, and were laid in one deep, vast grave.

Last of all, Abbot Byrcheston was attacked and died. The black spots appeared on him on May 13, and he was a corpse before evening. One of his latest acts was to appoint Langham as Prior, and on his death the brethren elected Simon as Abbot. For ten years Abbot Langham ruled over the community at Westminster. His private fortune permitted him to do much for the abbey, which he loved, and he not only paid off the debts incurred by his somewhat careless and extravagant predecessor, but to him was due the beautiful Eastern Walk of the cloister. As a ruler he was a strict disciplinarian, yet tempered his firmness with kindness, so that in the judgment of the old monks he deserved the title of Second Founder of the Monastery. He was also of high repute as confessor, and his penitents included many members of the highest classes of society, for he had the character of being a severe ascetic, and of spending much time in fasting and prayer. Yet he was a man of courtly manners and also of good business habits, so that his reputation and influence continually increased.

Such remarkable abilities did not escape the notice of such an acute observer as Edward III. In 1360 Langham was made Lord High Treasurer of England. He did not hold this office long, but managed to persuade the King to allow him to assign ten bucks annually, instead of eight as heretofore, from the forest of Windsor to his much loved Abbey of Westminster, that the monks might be able to exercise a larger hospitality to their many friends.

The following year the Benedictine See of Ely was conferred on the Lord Treasurer, and immediately afterwards he was offered the See of London. The Benedictine Prior and Monks of Ely were more congenial to the former Abbot than the Dean and Canons of St. Paul's, so Langham chose Ely, and was consecrated Bishop in March, 1362. As Bishop of Ely, Langham issued some excellent injunctions to his clergy as to their private life and the need of greater attention to their pastoral duties. He also forbade in the strongest terms 'the execrable custom' of making a Feast of Fools. This feast, which was an awfully profane travesty of Divine service, was regularly performed in some churches, and even cathedrals. A Bishop of Fools was dressed in gorgeous pontificals, and received the homage even of the true Bishop if he were present, and presided over a burlesque service,

where the *Te Deum* and psalms were mingled with laughter, bawling, hissing, howling, and clapping of hands.

In February, 1363, Langham became Lord Chancellor. This office in many respects corresponded to that of the modern Prime Minister, and, under Langham, all the principal offices of State were filled by ecclesiastics, the chief being William of Wykeham, then Archdeacon of Lincoln, who was Keeper of the Privy Seal. It was a memorable year, for the King of Cyprus, David, King of Scotland, and John, King of France, who had been taken prisoner at Poitiers, were all present in England, and Langham took part in their entertainment. When the day arrived for the opening of Parliament, the Chancellor proceeded in great state to Westminster, taking with him the Great Seal. Taking his seat upon the marble seat, which is now replaced by the wool-sack, he caused the letters patent to be read, and opened Parliament, as all Chancellors of episcopal rank were wont to do, with a text of Holy Scripture and a sermon. It is worthy of notice that for the first time the sermon was delivered in *English*.

During the chancellorship of Langham the provisions of the Statute of Provisors and Præmunire were made more stringent by a new Act framed

to reduce the Pope's pretensions. Urban V. replied by demanding payment of the annual tribute of 1,000 marks as stipulated in the reign of King John, and required that the arrears for thirty years should be paid forthwith into the Papal treasury. Parliament was immediately summoned, and met at Westminster on March 30, 1366. The Bishop of Ely, as Chancellor, declared for what cause Parliament had assembled, and next day the King attended in state, and, making known the Pope's claim, asked the advice and counsel of Parliament on the subject. After due deliberation, the clergy, peers, and Commons concurred in a resolution that neither King John nor any other King had any right to place the realm under such thralldom, and solemnly enacted that, if the Pope endeavoured to enforce his assumed but invalid claim, he should be resisted and withstood by the King and his subjects with all their puissance. The King, further, to mark his own sense of indignation, forbade any more payment of Peter's-pence. The Pope, who was a weak though good man, desisted after this from any further action.

On the death of Archbishop Islip in 1366 Simon Langham was made Primate of England. The usual Papal Bulls were issued, but Langham solemnly renounced, in the presence of the King, every expression in the Bulls contrary to the

royal prerogative or the laws recently enacted. The new Archbishop was enthroned at Canterbury with all possible magnificence. One of his earliest acts as Archbishop was the consecration of the celebrated William of Wykeham to be Bishop of Winchester, to whom he almost immediately afterwards resigned the Great Seal.

When Simon Langham was translated from Ely to Canterbury, two clever Latin verses were circulated :

‘Lætantur cœli, quia Simon transit ab Ely,
Cujus in adventum flent, in Kent, millia centum.’

Which may be rendered: ‘The heavens rejoice because Simon has gone from Ely, but a hundred thousand men of Kent weep at his arrival.’

Lord Campbell, in his ‘Lives of the Lord Chancellors,’ treats Langham somewhat harshly as ‘this aspiring and unamiable man,’ and quotes the lines as a proof of his unpopularity at Ely. Dean Hook, on the other hand, in his ‘Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury,’ treats them as a malicious *jeu d’esprit* of some disappointed candidate for patronage, and quotes against them the testimony of the monks of Ely that their Bishop was preferred for his well-known goodness and learning.

During his short tenure of the primacy, Archbishop Langham was a zealous reformer of many abuses. Thus, he found ecclesiastics who enjoyed

the revenues of no less than twenty benefices at once, and these he caused to give up their pluralities. Certain drinking contests, called *Scotales*, where one vied with another as to the largest possible amount to be consumed short of absolute intoxication, were then popular and, were too often encouraged by the clergy. These Archbishop Langham utterly condemned, and exhorted the clergy to set an example of temperance, and to advocate the cause of temperance.

The relations of Langham with Wycliff have given rise to much discussion. It is certain that Archbishop Langham, acting as visitor, expelled a Wycliff of Mayfield from the mastership of Canterbury Hall, Oxford, and restored the first Warden, Woodhead. But modern research has made it probable that this Wycliff of Mayfield was not the great Reformer, but possibly some distant relative. It does not appear that Langham was ever hostile to the great Wycliff in his early days. On the contrary, there is every probability that Langham approved of or even suggested his appointment to a royal chaplaincy.

The Archbishop had only occupied the primatial see for two years, when messengers arrived from Urban V. announcing his promotion to the dignity of Cardinal-Priest. The Pope was himself a Benedictine, and lived a simple life at Avignon, and the prospect of forming part of his Council

was attractive to Langham, although it involved the giving up of the rich and honourable office of an English Archbishop. King Edward, however, thought differently. He was indignant that the Pope should require so valued a subject as Langham, and especially that he should have so acted without first signifying his intention and obtaining the royal assent. With some difficulty, and after a long delay, Cardinal Langham obtained permission to leave England, but he arrived at Avignon only in time to witness the death of his patron, Urban V. The new Pope, Gregory XI., was a young man, but he knew the value of Langham's advice, and employed him on several important missions.

Edward III. soon saw the advantage of having a friend of England at the Papal Court, and became reconciled to the Cardinal. He wrote of him as '*Notre cher et feal amy le Cardinal de Cantebirs,*' and permitted him to hold for his maintenance a prebend in York, the archdeaconry and treasurership of Wells, as well as the deanery of Lincoln.

In 1372, Cardinal Langham, who was now styled Cardinal of Canterbury, was sent with the Cardinal of Beauvais to the Courts of England and France to negotiate a peace between those countries. They were also invested with extraordinary powers to consecrate churches, visit exempt monasteries, and give absolution with

penance in certain serious reserved cases. The mission was not crowned with success; but the Cardinal took advantage of his visit to England to examine the works being carried on at Westminster Abbey, and to encourage his successor with a promise of pecuniary help. He also visited the monastery of Canterbury, and gave each monk a piece of gold.

Cardinal Langham returned to Avignon, but was in less favour than formerly. Weary and worn, he longed to end his days in his native land and watch the final completion of his much-loved abbey. Having obtained the Pope's permission to leave France and the King's consent to his return, he wrote to the Abbot of Westminster to prepare him rooms within the abbey precincts, promising every assistance towards the building. But before he had finished his preparations he was struck down with paralysis. By his will he left Westminster Abbey as his residuary legatee. His benefactions to the building of the abbey amounted to £10,800, representing a sum not far short of £200,000 of our present money. He died on June 22, 1376, and about three years later his body was removed from the vault of the Carthusian Church at Avignon and laid to rest in St. Benet's Chapel in Westminster Abbey, where his tomb remains one of the oldest and most remarkable of all its ecclesiastical monuments.

CHAPTER VIII

CARDINAL ADAM EASTON (1381—1397)

ADAM EASTON was a man of humble origin, who probably took his name from the village of Easton, in Norfolk, where he was born. He became a monk of the Benedictine Order at the Blackfriars' Convent at Norwich, and studied afterwards at Oxford, where he won a considerable reputation as a Greek and Hebrew scholar.

His name first appears as a witness in an appeal of Wycliff to the Court of Archbishop Langham, and he seems to have gone with the Archbishop to Avignon, and from thence he went to Rome and became attached to the Papal Court. In 1381 Easton was created a Cardinal by Urban VI., and by Papal provision was nominated to the deanery of York. Easton was the third absentee Cardinal in succession who was furnished with a revenue out of the deanery of York by the Pope's 'provision.' He also held the rectory of Somersham, in Huntingdonshire.

The days of the cardinalate of Easton were among the worst days of Papal history. At the Conclave after the death of Gregory XI., in 1378, were present twenty Cardinals. Of these only four were Italians, the greater part of the rest being of French extraction. The last three Popes had all been French from the province of Limoges, and had packed the Sacred College with their fellow-Provincials, who desired naturally to elect yet another French Pope. But the Roman people were resolved not to allow this, and surrounded the Vatican, shouting : ‘Romano lo volemo lo Papa, Romano lo volema!’ (We will have a Roman for Pope, we will have a Roman!). Suddenly the bells of the Capitol and St. Peter’s sounded forth, and the people flew to arms, and began even to break down the door of the Conclave, crying out : ‘A Roman or at least an Italian Pope, or certain death to the Cardinals.’

In this extremity the terrified electors hastily chose Bartholomew, Archbishop of Bari, as Urban VI., and all signed a document stating that the election had been ‘free and unanimous.’ They could not have made a worse choice. The character of Urban was of such repute for piety and austerity, that even Wycliff hailed his accession with delight. But he spoilt everything by his lack of tact and temper. ‘In Urban,’ writes

one historian, 'was verified the proverb, "None is so insolent as a low man suddenly raised to power."' Yet the new Pope had in St. Catherine of Siena at least one friend, who besought him with a touching appeal: 'For the sake of your crucified Lord, restrain those overquick impulses which Nature suggests to you.' But though Urban took these admonitions without offence, he paid no heed to them. He mistook rudeness for strength. He called the Cardinal Orsini a blockhead, and to the others he constantly said: 'Hold your tongue,' or 'Cease your chatter.'

One by one the Cardinals left Rome, and made their way to Anagni, till at last Urban was left without a friend except St. Catherine. The Cardinals then made a declaration on oath that they had elected the Pope under constraint and threats of violence, and that consequently the election of Urban was uncanonical, null, and void. After summoning 'Bartholomew, Archbishop of Bari, intruded into the Apostolic See,' to make answer to this declaration, on his non-appearance they elected a new Pope, Robert of Geneva, who took the title of Clement VII. In this way began the Great Schism, which lasted from 1378 to 1418, and was only ended by the Council of Constance.

At the instance of St. Catherine, who advised him to create 'a troop of good Cardinals,' Urban

now created twenty-nine new Cardinals, and among them was Adam Easton, the Englishman. St. Catherine urged the Pope to go without fear into the battle with the rival Pope, whom she called Anti-Christ: but 'Go,' she said, 'with the armour of Divine love to cover you, for that is your sure defence.' She wrote fiery letters to Kings, Princes, cities, and even the renegade Cardinals, beseeching them for the sake of Christ crucified not to rend the unity of the Church by rejecting the Vicar of Christ on earth. She tried to stand by the Pope as his guardian angel to protect him from himself: but it was in vain; he would not take her counsel, and she died in 1380 at the early age of thirty-three, virtually of a broken heart.

As long as St. Catherine lived, the Pope retained a measure of decency, for he had a real respect for her; but when she died, Urban threw off all restraint. He acted like a madman, and gave everything into the hands of his worthless and profligate nephew, Buttillo, whom he hoped to make master of Italy. 'It is not what he does, but the way he does it,' which makes so many enemies, was the explanation given by a certain Ambassador to the Holy See. Even Urban's own Cardinals became disgusted by his excesses, and began to discuss among themselves whether, if a Pope neglected his duty, and indulged his un-

worthy relations to such a degree as to bring the Church into danger, it might be lawful to place some discreet persons about him, chosen by the Cardinals, with full authority to control him. Adam Easton was one of those who took part in this discussion, and favoured some such proceeding.

The secret was, however, betrayed to Urban by one of the Cardinals themselves, named Thomas Ursini, who revealed 'the horrid plot' to the Pope, and showed him certain letters in cipher, which had passed between them. Urban instantly ordered his nephew Butillo to seize six of the most prominent Cardinals, including Easton, whom he was said to have chiefly feared on account of his surprising knowledge and wisdom.

The unhappy men were loaded with irons and thrust into separate cells in a loathsome dungeon in the Castle of Nocera, where they had no room either to stand upright or to lie at length. One by one they were brought out to be examined by torture. Some were stripped nearly naked, and raised and lowered by pulleys, while Butillo looked on and laughed. Others were stretched upon the rack from morning till evening, while the Pope himself paced the castle terrace, reading his breviary in a high voice, that the torturers might know that he was present, and fear to

relax their efforts. One of the Inquisitors, Dietrich of Niem, the Pope's own secretary, who has left us only a too minute description of the tortures, burst into tears, and besought the Pope to have mercy, but was only laughed at for his womanly weakness. Under this extremity of suffering, continued for several days together, some of the wretched Cardinals confessed to the charge of having wished to depose the Pope, and, failing this, to find some way to dispatch him.

For seven months they were kept in these cells and fed upon bread-and-water, till Urban, being threatened by the remaining conspirators, was forced to flee from Nocera. He dragged his unhappy prisoners with him from place to place, and one of them, the Bishop of Aquila, who, weakened by torture, could not keep up with the rest, he ordered to be killed and left unburied by the way. At last they reached Genoa. There he put an end to the sufferings of his captives. Some of the Cardinals were sewn up in sacks and cast into the sea; others were buried in a stable filled with quick-lime. Adam Easton alone was spared, owing to the powerful intercession of King Richard II. He was, however, degraded from his rank as Cardinal, stripped of all his dignities, and dismissed by Urban to go forth as 'a poor wandering Friar.'

In 1389, the wretched Pope Urban VI. died. His successor, Boniface IX., instantly restored Easton to his dignity as Cardinal, and wrote a letter commending him to the Parliament of England. Cardinal Easton soon after returned to his native land, and was made Prebendary of Salisbury, and Rector of Heigham, near Norwich. He died at Rome in 1397, and was buried in the Church of St. Cecilia, where his tomb is still to be seen. He was the author of many theological works, which have all perished, and he is said to have composed the Office for the Visitation of the B.V.M. still used in the Roman Church.

CHAPTER IX

CARDINAL PHILIP REPYNGDON (1408—1426)

THE story of CARDINAL REPYNGDON (or, as it was sometimes spelled, Repington) is one full of sadness. He was one of those who knew the truth and received it, but in time of temptation and trial fell away.

Philip Repyngdon was an Augustinian Canon of the famous Abbey of St. Mary de Pré, near Leicester, where Wolsey died. It was one of the wealthiest abbeys in England, and closely connected with the House of Lancaster; but Repyngdon did not like the life of the 'Black Canons,' and obtained leave to study at Oxford at Broadgate Hall, now known as Pembroke College.

On his way to Oxford he had already shown his reforming tendencies by preaching a sermon at Brackley, Northamptonshire, in favour of 'the doctrine of Wycliff concerning the sacrament of the altar,' and at the University he soon became known as the most learned man of his age, and

the most prominent supporter of Wycliff at Oxford, but was universally esteemed for his moderation and kindly bearing.

At that time there was a sort of religious revival at Oxford. A band of young scholars, having Philip Repyngdon, Nicholas Herford, and John Aston as their leaders, were openly asserting the truth of Wycliff's doctrines, and exhorting the authorities to exclude all Friars and Monks from the University. The Chancellor himself, Dr. Rugge, and the two Proctors, John Huntsman and Walter Dish, favoured Wycliff's views, and on June 5, 1382, Repyngdon was invited to preach before the University at St. Frideswide's. In his sermon he again defended the Wycliffite doctrine of the Sacrament, 'that in the sacrament of the altar, the host is not to be worshipped, and such as adore it are idolators,' and 'that the substance of bread and wine still remains in the sacrament.' He also declared 'that temporal lords were more to be commended in sermons than the Pope or the Bishops.' Great excitement was caused by the discourse, and the preacher was escorted home from the church by twenty men with swords under their gowns.

Two days later Repyngdon carried on the discussion in the University schools, and declared that his own Augustinian Order was better when

ten years old than when a thousand. But news of this strange teaching reached the authorities, and a Council was held at Blackfriars, London, to which Dr. Rugge was summoned. At this Council the opinions of Wycliff were condemned, and the Chancellor was ordered to go back to Oxford and suspend Repyngdon and the other Wycliffite preachers.

When Dr. Rugge made answer that for his life he dared not condemn Wycliff at Oxford, Archbishop Courtenay replied, 'Then is Oxford the fautor of heresies, since she will not allow orthodox truth to be published.' The Chancellor was forced to ask pardon on his knees, and was only set at liberty by the intercession of the aged William of Wykeham.

On June 15 the sentence was published at Oxford. Repyngdon and Herford appealed in vain to John of Gaunt; they were ordered to reply to certain articles framed against them, and their answers being deemed unsatisfactory, they were condemned and excommunicated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. A royal letter followed which directed that 'any that shall be so bold as to receive into their houses or innes Master John Wycliff, Master Nicholas Hertford, Master Philip Reppingdon, Master John Ashton, or any others noted by probable suspicion of any of the afore-

said heresies or errors, should be banished and expelled from the University and Town of Oxford.'

Repyngdon had not in him the spirit of a martyr. His quarrel had been with the monastic Orders into whom he desired to breathe a better mind and life. He saw the right way, but shrank from persecution, and after a stormy six months' championship of Wycliff and the Lollards, he made his peace with Archbishop Courtenay, and on November 18, 1382, publicly abjured his heresies at a convocation held at Oxford, and was restored to his place in the schools.

Repyngdon's relapse was complete. He had done with the Lollards and their heresies for ever. Henceforth his Roman orthodoxy was unimpeachable and it was rewarded by rapid promotions. In 1394 he was elected Abbot of his old monastery of St. Mary de Pré, and four times became Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

Soon after his accession King Henry IV. made Repyngdon his chaplain and confessor, and called him his *clericus specialissimus*. So intimate were the relations between Repyngdon and the King, that after the great victory at Shrewsbury (July 21, 1403) Henry straightway made proclamation through the whole army, that if there were any servant of the Abbot of Leicester there, he should present himself before him. Immediately

there came forward a servant of the said Abbot, to whom the King gave the ring from his finger and at the same time 100 shillings, bidding him go with all haste to the Lord Philip, Abbot of Leicester, and not to use any delay till he had given him the said ring, and to say thus to him : ' The King lives, having obtained the victory over his enemies. Blessed be God !'

Soon after this Repyngdon was made Bishop of Lincoln, and among his first acts as Bishop he granted a licence to all graduates and theological students of Oxford to preach anywhere in his diocese. Though now entirely opposed to Lollardism, he had still some desire for better things, and wrote a letter to the King on the state of the realm, in which he implored Henry to provide some remedy for the miseries of the people.

Yet Repyngdon was merciless towards the followers of Wycliff. The Lollards in return gave him the nickname of 'Rumpingdon.' When one of the most earnest-minded of them, William Thorpe, was examined by the Chancellor, Archbishop Arundel, in 1407, as to his religious opinions, and was urged to follow the example of those who had already recanted, he replied : ' For the slanderous revoking at the crosse of Paul's of H. P. and of B., and how now Philip Rumpington pursueth Christ's people ; and the faining that

these men dissemble by worldly prudence, keeping them cowardlie in their preaching . . . will not bee unpunished of God.'

In his reply, Archbishop Arundel himself confessed, 'As touching Philip of Rumpington, that was first canon and after abbot of Leicester, which is now Bishop of Lincolne, I tell thee that the day is comen for which he fasted the even. For neither hee holdeth now, nor will hold, the learning that hee taught when hee was canon of Leicester. For no bishop of the land pursueth now more sharply them that hold thy way, than hee doth.' To whom William Thorpe made answer thus : 'Sir, full many men and women wondereth upon him, and speaketh him mickle shame, and holdeth him for a cursed enemie of the truth.'

Repyngdon had his reward. On September 18, 1408, he was created Cardinal-Priest by Gregory XII. It was the time of the Great Schism, when three Popes were struggling together for the supreme power ; and Gregory, who had solemnly promised to make no more Cardinals, thought by the promotion of Repyngdon to secure the support of Henry IV. The King, however, was by no means pleased, for, says the chronicler, he was 'most blessedly kindled with zeal for the union of the Church.' He therefore wrote to Gregory expressing his surprise and dis-

pleasure, and withal sent delegates to the Council of Pisa, where Gregory was deposed, and all his acts annulled. Later, at the Council of Constance, where Gregory resigned and the other Popes were deposed, a general measure of reconciliation took place, and all those who had been made Cardinals by either of the Popes were acknowledged as such.

As Cardinal, Repyngdon does not seem to have exerted much influence. The time was not yet come when an English Bishop could exercise the functions of a Cardinal, and stand forth as a Prince of the Church. From time to time his name appears at consecrations and on commissions, and in 1419 he issued a proclamation against those who did not reverence processions.

Repyngdon retired from his bishopric in 1419, and lived in seclusion till his death in 1429, when he was buried with full honours near his great predecessor Grosseteste in Lincoln Cathedral. He made several munificent bequests to the University Library of Oxford, where many of his eloquent sermons are to be found, and it must always be remembered in his favour that he steadfastly refused to obey the decree of the Council of Constance ordering the remains of Wycliff to be disinterred and scattered to the winds of heaven. This was not done till four years after Repyngdon's death.

CHAPTER X

CARDINAL THOMAS LANGLEY (1411—1437)

THOMAS LANGLEY was the son of a yeoman farmer who lived at a village called Langley, in Yorkshire. He was a distinguished member of Cambridge University, and first comes into notice in 1388, when he was appointed chaplain to John of Gaunt. We also find his name in his royal patron's will as one of his executors.

In 1391 he became Canon of Ripon, and through the influence of Cardinal Beaufort, a son of John of Gaunt, he was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal, and soon after was consecrated Bishop of Durham.

Langley does not seem to have had any commanding abilities, and owed his rapid promotion to good-fortune and the influence of his first patrons. It was his remarkable lot to be Lord Chancellor of England under three successive Sovereigns. His first chancellorship, which only lasted one year, was in 1406 under Henry IV. In

that year Parliament was called together to pass a Salic law excluding females from the succession to the throne, and thereby setting aside the claims of Lionel, Duke of Clarence. The Chancellor, according to custom, opened Parliament with a suitable text of Scripture, and compared the King to Ahasuerus, 'who asked advice from the wise, and acted in all respects according to their counsel' (Esth. i. 13, Vulg. Vers.). The law was passed, but was so unpopular that it was shortly afterwards repealed and the Crown settled according to ancient rules. The House of Commons having petitioned the King concerning the abuses prevailing in the Court of Chancery, Langley was dismissed, and the Great Seal was given for the fourth time to Archbishop Arundel.

In 1409 Bishop Langley went to Pisa with letters of protection from the King, and there attended the Council as proctor for several English Bishops, Abbots, and Priors. By this Council Pope Gregory XII. was deposed, and a new Pope, Alexander V., was elected. The latter only reigned a few months, and was succeeded by one of the worst Popes who ever occupied the Papal chair, named Balthazar Cossa, who took the title of John XXIII. Gregory XII. had already endeavoured to secure the favour of England by his creation of Cardinal Repyngdon, so his rival,

John XXIII., on his side gave the red hat to Thomas Langley and Robert Hallam, though neither received the usual title of a Roman church, nor indeed seems ever to have been invested with the full style and dignity of Cardinal.

During the reign of Henry V. Cardinal Langley was sent on various diplomatic missions to France and Scotland, and in June, 1417, he became Chancellor for the second time. In his opening address he reminded Parliament of the remarkable victories of Henry V. from the Battle of Shrewsbury to the still greater Battle of Agincourt, and asked for liberal supplies for the guardianship of the Channel and the defence of the Scottish border.

We now come to a transaction which fixes an indelible stain on the memory of Langley. Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, had long been one of the chief supporters of Wycliff's doctrines and a favourer of evangelical teaching. In consequence of this he was sent to the Tower, but escaped to Wales. A Bill of attainder was then passed by Parliament, and sentence was pronounced against him as a heretic. This sentence was soon afterwards executed, when Lord Cobham was captured and burnt in St. Giles' Fields in 1418. He was the first English peer who suffered death for his religion, and there is much reason to believe

that Langley, as Chancellor, had a large share in his conviction and execution.

On the death of Henry V. Langley resigned the Great Seal, solemnly placing it in the lap of his infant son Henry VI., who was only nine months old and too young even to play with it as a toy. The King's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, gave the surrendered Seal to Simon Gamstede, and Langley ceased to be Chancellor. But as soon as Parliament met, the Regent announced that the King had appointed the Bishop of Durham to be Chancellor, and Langley for the third time received the Great Seal.

The Chancellor opened Parliament with the text, 'Fear God, honour the King' (1 Pet. ii. 17), and argued somewhat irreverently that the same honour should be paid to Henry VI. as to his father Henry V., because it was written 'Every one that loveth Him that begat, loveth Him also that is begotten of Him' (1 John v. 1). Langley did not, however, remain long in power, for Cardinal Beaufort, by intriguing with the King's Council, managed to get once more the coveted office, and Langley with great solemnity delivered up the Seal to the little King, now two years old, who with equal solemnity handed it to Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester.

Cardinal Langley retired to his northern diocese,

and took a large share in defending the Scottish Border—a duty which fell to his lot as Bishop Palatine. He was also instrumental in arranging the Treaty of Durham, by which James I., the captive King of Scotland, was set at liberty in 1424. By the treaty a ransom of £40,000 was agreed upon, and it was arranged that James should marry Jane Beaufort, a cousin of the young King. On their way to Scotland the royal bridal pair were entertained for a whole month at Durham by Cardinal Langley, and were then escorted by the gentry of Northumberland and the County Palatine to Melrose Abbey.

During his episcopate Langley restored the beautiful Galilee porch which forms so striking a feature in Durham Cathedral. He closed the great door leading from the porch into the nave, and opened two lesser doors into the nave aisles, which still bear his shield and arms. In front of the closed main portal he constructed a marble tomb for himself, with an inscription on the arch above: 'Judgment belongeth to the LORD. O Lord God, give Thy servant an understanding heart that he may judge Thy people, and may discern between good and evil' (1 Kings iii. 9). The cost of these repairs was £499 6s. 8d., which did not include the marble tomb.

Bishop Langley also, in virtue of a Papal dis-

pensation, erected a font in the cathedral to be specially used for the children of excommunicated persons. He also assisted the Prior and the convent to repair the cloisters, and founded two schools upon the palace green—one for grammar and one for plain-song. He was a great lover of learning, and left benefactions of books to the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, to Durham House at Oxford, St. Mary's at Leicester, and the College of Manchester, and his executors are said to have erected the magnificent window on the south side of the choir in York Minster.

Cardinal Langley died in 1437, and was buried in Durham Cathedral near the tomb of the Venerable Bede.

CHAPTER XI

CARDINAL ROBERT HALLAM (1411—1417)

THE origin and birthplace of CARDINAL HALLAM are alike unknown. It is supposed that he was born about the year 1365, and it is related by one chronicler that he was of English royal blood. In 1400 he was made Archdeacon of Canterbury, and in 1403 was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, where he had been educated, and had taken the degree of Doctor of Canon Law.

During a visit to Rome in 1405, Dr. Hallam found such favour in the eyes of Innocent VII., that the Pope appointed him to the See of York, vacant by the murder of Archbishop Scrope. Henry IV. refused, however, to accept the Papal nomination, and in consequence of the dispute that arose between the King and the Pope the archbishopric remained vacant for two years. In 1407 the new Pope, Gregory XII., and Henry came to a compromise. It was agreed that Hallam should be made Bishop of Salisbury, but the Pope

insisted on describing him as 'late Archbishop of York.' He was consecrated by the Pope himself at Siena on June 22, 1407, and on his return to England entered upon possession of his see.

Bishop Hallam was a man of high character and great practical wisdom, but his lot was cast in evil times. The Great Schism of the Papacy, and the wholly unedifying spectacle of Popes and Cardinals anathematizing one another, while they claimed to be representatives on earth of the Prince of Peace, had utterly wearied and disgusted the minds of the laity.

Each Pope before election had promised to submit to the judgment of a Council, and each Pope after election had repudiated his promise. Gregory XII. said: 'I am Pope. I have no need of advice from anyone. I am above all law, and you must abide by my decisions.' His rival, Benedict XIII., said to a deputation from Rome: 'My good children, Pope I am, and Pope I will remain. I will cling to my title till I die.'

At this juncture the great University of Paris, led by its illustrious Chancellor Gerson, came forward and supported the rebel Cardinals, who wished to make a new start with a new Pope. Gregory, now seriously alarmed, sought to conciliate the English by creating an English Cardinal in the person of Philip Repyngdon. But Henry V.

was not so easily won. By his direction a meeting of Convocation was called at St. Paul's Cathedral by Archbishop Arundel. It was resolved that all Papal dues should be withheld until there should be one universally recognized head of the Church. At a later meeting Bishop Hallam was chosen to proceed to Italy, as delegate from the King and the Church of England to assist in bringing about some arrangement, with full authority to bind the English Church to whatever decision the Council then assembling might come to concerning the unity of the whole Church under one Pope.

The Council of Pisa met in the famous cathedral on Lady Day, 1409. There were present 22 Cardinals, 160 Archbishops, Bishops, and mitred Abbots, 123 Doctors of Theology, and 282 Doctors of Civil Law, representing the Universities of Europe, as well as several Ambassadors of Kings and Princes. In this illustrious assembly Hallam the English Bishop soon acquired a prominent position. On April 30 he preached before the Council a remarkable sermon on Unity, and it was he who advised and exhorted the Cardinals to completely abandon the claims of the two rival Popes, and proceed to the election of some other more worthy of the high office.

Accordingly, on June 5 Gregory XII. and

Benedict XIII. were declared by the Council to be '*ipso facto* rejected of God,' as 'notorious schismatics, partisans, and heretics, who had scandalized the Church by their manifest obstinacy.' The official preacher went even further, and called them 'Annas and Caiaphas, devils from hell, no more Popes than his old shoes.' The Council then proclaimed the vacancy of the Holy See, and authorized the Cardinals to elect a new Pope. This they did, electing as Pope an old and incapable man, who took the title of Alexander V. He was solemnly crowned in front of the cathedral, while Benedict was burnt in effigy.

The only practical effect of the new election was that confusion was made worse confounded. There were now three Popes instead of two. Alexander, who had been himself a beggar, and had no relations, amused himself with feasting the beggars at Rome, who ran about the streets like madmen. After a short and utterly feeble reign of a few months Alexander died suddenly at Bologna, poisoned, it was thought, by Cardinal Baldassare Cossa, who was himself immediately elected Pope under the name of John XXIII.

This election filled up the cup of iniquity of the Roman Cardinals. 'The very tapsters,' it was said, 'would not have chosen such a Pope.'

But the Cardinals were overawed by Cossa, whose brother-in-law, Louis of Anjou, had just occupied Rome with his army.

A new figure was now appearing in the political world who was determined to cleanse the Augean stable of the Papacy. The Emperor Sigismund, a man of great talent and resolution, summoned a Council to meet at Constance to deal with the unutterably awful state of the Church. The wicked Pope John XXIII., whose abominable crimes had shocked Christendom, foreseeing what was coming, hastened to strengthen his position by creating some new Cardinals. Among these was the English Bishop, Robert Hallam. John, no doubt, had taken note of the ability displayed by Hallam at Pisa, and of the influence which he had there acquired, and wished to secure so good a man and so able an advocate to his side.

It is greatly to Hallam's credit that he never went to Rome to receive the hat, nor does he seem in any way to have accepted the proffered dignity, or to have adopted the style and title of Cardinal. But, by Roman usage, when once the Pope has named a Cardinal, he is a Cardinal. Even when a Pope has not pronounced the name, but reserved it *in petto*, yet if he has announced the creation in the Consistory, the Cardinal when named takes precedence from the date of his secret creation *in petto*. Thus Hallam is reckoned among

the English Cardinals, although he never wore the purple or used the title.

On October 20, 1414, Bishop Hallam was appointed as head of the mission sent from England to take part in the deliberations of the Council of Constance. He was provided with sixty-four horses and a large retinue of attendants, a tax of twopence in the pound being levied on all benefices to meet the expenses of the mission. They proceeded by the way of the Rhine, and witnessed the coronation of the Emperor Sigismund in the historic church of Aix-la-Chapelle. At length they entered Constance on January 21, 1415, and on the morrow they paid their respects to the Pope, when 'the Bishop of Salisbury made a beautiful speech' on reunion.

The English mission consisted of ten Bishops with fifty scholars of various degrees and about sixty ecclesiastics of minor rank. Hallam at once ranged these on the side of the German Reform party in opposition to the Franco-Italian party. He had brought with him a learned treatise by Dr. Richard Ulverston on the 'Reformation of the Church Militant,' and he urged its principles upon the Council. Far from upholding the unworthy Pope who had made him a Cardinal, Hallam rebuked John in a public session in a speech of such commanding influence that the Pope himself attributed his own deposition to it.

Hallam took but little part in the trials of John Hus; but he formed one of the small deputation sent by Sigismund to give Hus a last chance of saving his life by recantation. It was in vain that they pressed upon him to accept the Emperor's offer. He only answered that if in anything he could be proved to be in error, he would willingly revoke it. Again, when Jerome of Prague was brought up for his first examination, and had given offence by one of his answers, so that several of the Doctors called out, 'To the fire with him!'—the accused answered with some emotion, 'If my death is what you wish, God's will be done.' But Hallam took up his words, and said: 'No, Jerome, it is not God's will that any sinner should die, but that he should be converted and live.'

While Hallam almost alone among the Bishops dissented from the condemnation of both Hus and Jerome, he showed no such tender feeling for the Pope. When the abominable life of John XXIII. was exposed in all its unmitigated blackness before the Council, Hallam was bold enough to say that the Pope himself was the one who most deserved to be burned at the stake. The Italian Cardinals, according to the report of their chief, Cardinal Fillastre, resented 'the haughty speech mingled with threats of the Bishop of Salisbury'; but all felt his moral ascendancy,

which he had gained by his conspicuous zeal, his dauntless courage, and blameless character.

After many vicissitudes and difficulties, which do not concern us here, in spite of his tears and protestations, and his pitiably abject letter to Sigismund, the Council solemnly deposed Pope John XXIII. as 'unworthy, useless, and harmful ; a receptacle of all kinds of sin.' Seventy articles of accusation were brought forward, and never was such a terrible list of sins charged against any man, as were now alleged almost without contradiction against the so-called Vicar of Christ. Sixteen charges were dropped, not because they were untrue, but lest too great a stain should be cast upon the Papacy by their indescribable indecency and revolting depravity. The remaining fifty-four were admitted, and the sentence of deposition was communicated to the Pope, who with tears admitted its justice.

The great question now arose whether the Council should proceed at once to the work of reformation or should first elect a new Pope. Hallam, with his German allies, strenuously supported the cause of immediate reform. Meanwhile Sigismund paid a visit to England in order to form an alliance with Henry V. against the French. He returned to Constance early in 1417, wearing the collar of the Garter, 'a glad sight to all Englishmen to see.' The Bishops met the

Emperor at the city gates, and after they had paid their respects an amusing race took place between d'Ailli of the French party and Hallam to secure the cathedral pulpit. The Englishman won the race, and Hallam 'preached a sermon in the King's praise, the King [*i.e.*, the Emperor] sitting in a chair covered with cloth of gold, where formerly sat the Pope.' Two days later the English Bishops entertained Sigismund at a great feast, at which a sacred play was performed on the subject of the Nativity, the visit of the Magi, and the murder of the Holy Innocents.

The cause of Reform, though hindered to the uttermost by the Italian, French, and Spanish delegates, now seemed in a fair way to succeed, when by the inscrutable providence of God, the great good leader of the Reform Party, Robert Hallam, suddenly died at Gottlieben on September 4, 1417. By this disaster one of the greatest opportunities of cleansing and reforming the Roman Church was lost. The Emperor had relied on Hallam's wisdom and resolute firmness, and his authority had kept the English and Germans together. When he died the Reformers were left without a head, and the English and German Reformation was postponed, to be carried out much more thoroughly at a later date.

The following interesting account of the death and funeral of Bishop Hallam is taken from

Vol. XXX. of the 'Archæologia,' the translation being made from a rare old German history of the Council dated 1483: 'On the fourth day of the first Harvest month [September] happened a Tuesday, during which viii hours after midday towards the night there died a highly worthy Prince Bishop, Robert of Salisbury from England, in the fortress Gotlieben; and on the morrow about vesper-time they conducted him to Constance, and they bore him with two golden cloths into the Minster, and thither went all Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops—our Lord the King—all spiritual and temporal Princes, prelates and priests, and with them a great crowd by the light of lxxx of the largest-sized burning tapers, which poor men bore; and they sung him a Vigil, and he was buried in the choir with the other Bishops.'

The grave of Hallam is still to be seen at the foot of the steps leading to the high altar of the Cathedral of Constance. It is marked by a noble monumental brass bearing his effigy. On the monument are seen the English royal arms, probably denoting that he was a representative of the King, and from the style of the execution it has been conjectured that the brass is of English manufacture, and was sent out from England some years after Cardinal Hallam's death.

CHAPTER XII

CARDINAL HENRY BEAUFORT (1426—1447)

HENRY OF BEAUFORT, whom Shakespeare has immortalized as the

‘Haughty Cardinal,
More like a soldier than a man of the Church,’

was the natural son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster and son of Edward III., by his mistress Katherine Swynford. He was born about the year 1375, and was in due course sent to Queen’s College, Oxford. When there he was visited by his royal father, for in the college accounts there is a record: ‘item, 30 shillings for wine for the Duke of Lancaster.’ There are also several entries in the accounts of the Receiver-General of ‘wine sent to Oxford for Master Henry Beaufort.’ From Oxford Beaufort went for a short time to Cambridge, and thence to Aix-la-Chapelle to complete his studies.

In 1396 John of Gaunt, being again a widower, married Katherine Swynford as his third wife. The Duke and Katherine then applied to the

Pope to confirm their marriage. They confessed, indeed, that they had lived together in adultery during the lifetime of the Duchess Constance, and that there was also a canonical bar to their union in that the Duke was godfather to Blanche, the daughter of Katherine by her former husband, Sir Hugh Swynford. But such barriers as these were nothing to the Popes of those days, when powerful influence and sufficient money was brought to bear. Accordingly, Pope Boniface IX. issued a Bull confirming the marriage and declaring all issue, past as well as future, to be legitimate.

The name of Beaufort had been chosen by John of Gaunt out of his many territorial titles for the children of Katherine as one that would not prejudice the rights of his more legitimate heirs. The little village and castle of Beaufort, now called Montmorency, is situated near Troyes, in France. It had belonged to John of Gaunt, but in 1369 passed into the hands of the Kings of France as part of the royal domains. In 1397, after the Pope's Bull had been issued, the King in Parliament granted the Beauforts letters of legitimization, and so established their position by civil as well as by ecclesiastical law, but the condition was made that they should have no right of succession to the throne of England.

In the same year Henry Beaufort, who is

described as 'still a youth,' was made Bishop of Lincoln by Pope Boniface IX. In order to effect this the Pope ousted the aged Bishop Bokingham on the plea that he was too old and feeble to govern so great a diocese and so many people. It is true that another diocese was offered to him ; but the Bishop felt that if he was too old to continue at Lincoln he was too old to take up the work of a new diocese. He therefore retired to the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, where he died soon after. The whole transaction was a gross abuse of the privilege claimed by the Popes of making 'provision' for Italian Cardinals or royal favourites. After six years' tenure of the See of Lincoln, Beaufort was translated to Winchester, which was then considered the richest see in England. He there succeeded the famous William of Wykeham, and continued to hold the bishopric till his death.

In 1309 John of Gaunt died at Leicester Castle. His body was taken to London for burial at St. Paul's Cathedral. On the way it rested one night at St. Albans Abbey, where his son, Bishop Henry Beaufort, celebrated a Requiem Mass for the dead. By his last will John of Gaunt named his son Henry as one of his executors, and left him the following curious legacy : 'Item : I bequeath to the Reverend Father in God and my very dear

son, the Bishop of Lincoln, a dozen porringers and a dozen saucers, two silver gallon jars for wine, a goblet of silver gilt with a bason and ewer of silver, and my whole suit of yellow velvet with the things belonging to that suit, and in addition my missal and my breviary, which belonged to my lord and brother, the Prince of Wales, whom may God assoil !’*

In the same year Henry IV., the eldest son of John of Gaunt by his first wife, Blanche, Duchess of Lancaster, ascended the throne, and in March, 1403, gave the Great Seal to his half-brother, Bishop Beaufort. As Chancellor, it became the duty of Beaufort to issue writs for the assembling of Parliament, but in doing so he illegally inserted a provision that ‘no apprentice or other man of law should be elected.’ In consequence of this provision this Parliament contained no lawyer, and was therefore known as ‘the lack-learning Parliament.’ For some unknown cause Henry Beaufort, after two years’ tenure of the chancellorship, lost the King’s favour, and was removed from office.

* The following is a specimen of the old French as actually used in the above legacy: ‘Item: jeo devise a reverent pier en Dieu et mon tresame filtz l’evesq’ de Nicol un douzein des escuilles et douzain saucers, deux pottes de galons pour le vin, un hanap d’argent endorrez avecq’ un bacyn et i eauer d’argent.’

In 1413 Henry V. succeeded his father, and at once took the Great Seal from Archbishop Arundel, and gave it to his uncle, Henry Beaufort, who thus became Chancellor for the second time. Two days afterwards he issued writs for a new Parliament. In this and the next Session Church questions came prominently forward. Beaufort and the other prelates turned their zeal against the Lollards, and induced the Commons to pass a Bill against reading Wycliff's Bible and other such enormities. But the Commons were equally determined to bring the vast revenues of the Church under taxation, and an Act was passed, which, says Hall, 'made the fat Abbots to sweat, the proud Priors to frown, the silly nuns to weep, and, indeed, all to fear that Babel would fall down.' There were also great clamours against the exactions of the Court of Chancery, whose authority Beaufort was endeavouring to extend in a way that alarmed the lawyers.

During his tenure of the chancellorship, combined with the wealthy See of Winchester, Beaufort had managed to amass great riches, and, as it was thought, in ways that savoured of usury. When King Henry V. returned to England after the glorious victory of Agincourt, he found great difficulty in paying the troops, and, therefore, applied to the Chancellor for financial help. Beau-

fort, however, refused to make any money gift to the King, and would only grant a loan of £20,000 on the security of the British crown, which the King gave him in pawn. He must, says Bishop Stubbs, 'have acted as a contractor on a large scale,' for he could not have produced so great a sum from his own revenues. But his avarice met with a just reward. The King was greatly displeased, and in 1417 suddenly deprived him of the chancellorship and delivered the Great Seal to Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham.

Beaufort now put on a pilgrim's dress, and obtained leave to visit the Holy Land. When he arrived at Ulm, the news that the Bishop of Winchester, uncle of the King of England, was within two days of Constance, came to the ears of the Council. The English delegates persuaded the Cardinals to invite the Bishop to assist them in their conference, inasmuch as he could do as he liked with the Emperor Sigismund. Accordingly, they sent the Bishop of Lichfield to Ulm, bearing a letter of invitation from the Council and another of like import from Sigismund himself.

Beaufort, nothing loth, gave up his intended journey to Jerusalem, and came to Constance. His mediation was successful. An agreement was come to between the Council and the Emperor to elect the new Pope first, and then to pro-

ceed to the reformation of the Church. Beaufort now had some hopes of obtaining the Papal Crown, and he certainly received some votes, but not those of his own countrymen, who by the King's orders voted steadily for Cardinal Colonna. On St. Martin's Day, 1417, Colonna was elected Pope, and took the name of Martin V. The Great Schism was now healed, and Martin was everywhere acknowledged as the true Pope. One of his first acts, either as a reward for his services at the Council or to console him for his defeat as a candidate, was to create Beaufort a Cardinal, and to name him Apostolic Legate to England. This would have been to supersede Archbishop Chichele, who was acting as the official Legate, and by Chichele's advice Henry peremptorily forbade his uncle to accept the proffered dignity.

In 1422 Henry V. died, and was succeeded by his infant son, Henry VI. The Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, the uncles of the little King, were made Protectors, or Regents, of the kingdom, while the person and the education of the little Prince were entrusted to his great-uncle, the Bishop of Winchester. Beaufort, by intriguing with the Council of State, contrived to be made Chancellor for the third time under a third Sovereign. The departure of the Duke of Bedford to France caused the rivalry between the

Lord Protector Gloucester and the Chancellor Beaufort to become so acute as to endanger the peace of the realm. When Parliament met in February, 1426, at Leicester, all persons, of whatever degree, were forbidden to present themselves with any sword or other warlike weapon. But the Lords and their attendants, though obeying the order literally, came armed with great *bats*, or clubs, upon their shoulders, so that this meeting was called 'the Parliament of Bats.'

The little King, now in his fifth year, was seated on the throne, and the Parliament was opened with a peaceable speech by the Chancellor. But constant quarrels arose in the streets between the partisans of the rival factions. The 'blue coats' of Gloucester's men were for ever skirmishing with the 'tawny coats' of Beaufort's followers. In vain did Archbishop Chichele strive to make peace. Eight times in one day did he interpose between the Duke and the Bishop and their adherents. In Parliament Gloucester accused Beaufort of setting armed men in the windows and cellars of Southwark in order to assault him when he passed over London Bridge; while Beaufort replied that he had indeed placed men there, but only for his own protection, because he had been credibly informed that the Duke intended to do him bodily harm. The Commons, wearied by

the perpetual strife, asked the Duke of Bedford to interfere. This he did, and made a temporary peace between the opposing parties, but caused the Bishop to resign the chancellorship.

Beaufort now went abroad, and was declared Cardinal-Priest of St. Eusebius, and, having been invested with the red hat with great solemnity at Calais, was appointed Legate *a latere* to Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia. He was also named Captain-General of the crusaders who had taken the field against the Hussites in Bohemia. Cardinal Beaufort at once proceeded to raise troops and money for the crusade, but was induced by a bribe of 1,000 marks, given to him by the Duke of Bedford, to use the troops to assist the British army in France. The French King complained bitterly at Rome, and Martin V. sent a sharp reproof to the Cardinal, who, at last leading his troops into Bohemia, 'did there better service than all the Princes and Generals of the Empire.' When the great army of the Empire (August 4, 1427) 'fled before the Hussites without striking a blow, abandoning all their treasures, munitions, carriages, and cannon, Henry of Winchester alone, at the head of a band of English crusaders, endeavoured, but in vain, to arrest the utter rout.'

On his return to England, Cardinal Beaufort again plunged into the tangled skein of English

politics. In 1429 he succeeded in having the young King crowned, and in inducing Parliament to declare the office of Protector ended. This reduced Gloucester to an ordinary peer, and the Cardinal from that time bore chief sway in the counsels of the kingdom.

In 1431 Cardinal Beaufort accompanied Henry VI. to France, and solemnly crowned him as King of France in the Cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris. During his sojourn abroad he took part in the disgraceful trial of Joan of Arc, and joined in the iniquitous sentence that she should be burnt for witchcraft. He was the only Englishman concerned in this atrocity, for all the other judges, including the Bishop of Beauvais, were French.

Four years later the Duke of Bedford died, and the English, having lost Paris, a peace was arranged between France and England chiefly through the influence of Cardinal Beaufort.

Fresh quarrels now broke out between the Cardinal and the Duke of Gloucester. The Duke accused the Cardinal of having amassed immense wealth by dishonest and oppressive means—of having appointed Ambassadors and released prisoners by his own unlawful authority—of estranging all but his own creatures from the person of the young King—and of incurring the

penalties of præmunire by accepting Papal Bulls without the King's permission.

The Cardinal replied by accusing the Duchess of Gloucester of witchcraft, and of compassing the death of the King by magical means by melting before a slow fire a waxen image which she had made of the King. The Duchess was condemned to do public penance and to be imprisoned for life ; but the sympathy of the people was with the Duke, for they realized that the monstrous charge was only made to gratify the malice of the Cardinal.

Beaufort now began to lose popularity, and in order to destroy his rival assembled a Parliament at Bury del St. Edmunds. The Duke of Gloucester was summoned to attend, but as soon as he arrived was thrown into prison on a charge of high treason. A few days later he was found dead in his bed. No marks of violence appeared on his body, but few men doubted that he had fallen a victim to his enemies.

Six weeks later, in March, 1447, Cardinal Beaufort followed his murdered nephew to the grave. It was said that he felt the greatest remorse for his share in the crime. Few scenes in English literature are more terribly realistic than Shakespeare's account of the death-bed of Cardinal Beaufort, although it cannot be said to rest on sufficient

historical foundation. The King is represented as standing by his bed, but Beaufort does not recognize him. His mind is wholly fixed on the memory of the murdered Gloucester. He says :

‘Died he not in his bed ? Where should he die ?
Can I make men live, whether they will or no ?
O torture me no more ! I will confess.
Alive again ? Then show me where he is :
I’ll give a thousand pounds to look upon him.
He hath no eyes, the dust has blinded them.
Comb down his hair ; look, look ! it stands upright,
Like lime-twigs set to catch my wingèd soul.
Give me some drink : and bid the apothecary
Bring the strong poison that I bought of him.’

The awestruck King makes one vain effort to obtain some sign of repentance :

‘Lord Cardinal, if thou think’st on Heaven’s bliss,
Hold up thy hand, make signal of thy hope.
He dies, and makes no sign. O God, forgive him !’

Cardinal Beaufort was buried in his Cathedral of Winchester, where his effigy is still seen in a chantry tomb with the Cardinal’s hat and *cappa magna*. It is said by Milner to be ‘the most elegant and finished chantry in the kingdom.’ Upon it is a scroll with the touching inscription, ‘Tribularer, si nescirem misericordias tuas.’ His vast fortune was left to succour the poor and needy, with certain special bequests to Canterbury

and Lincoln Cathedrals. To the King he left the gold cup out of which his illustrious father, John of Gaunt, drank his last draught. There is also a significant bequest of £100 and some rich plate to his illegitimate daughter, Joanna Stradlyng.

Cardinal Beaufort was a munificent benefactor to the city of Winchester. He is regarded as the second founder of the Hospital of St. Cross, the greater part of which he rebuilt, and which he established as an 'Almshouse of Noble Poverty.' Perhaps, take him for all in all, he was not worse than many great prelates of his time, while he must be regarded as one of the greatest statesmen of his day, if, indeed, he does not stand at their head.

CHAPTER XIII

CARDINAL JOHN KEMPE (1439—1454)

JOHN KEMPE was born in the year 1380, in the parish of Wye, in the county of Kent. He belonged to the younger branch of a knightly family, but his parents seem to have been in reduced circumstances, for he was educated at Merton College, Oxford, as a 'poor scholar.' At college he applied himself with much zeal and industry to his studies, and took his degree both as Doctor of Divinity and Doctor of Civil Law. The brilliancy of his disputations attracted much attention, and he was soon made Fellow of his college and Archdeacon of Durham.

Leaving Oxford, Kempe practised for some time in the ecclesiastical courts, and was employed as counsel in the trial of Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, in 1413. He showed so much ability in pressing the case against the defendant that he attracted the attention of Archbishop Chichele, and was made by him Dean of the Court of Arches and Vicar-General. The Archbishop also

introduced the clever young lawyer to the notice of Henry V., who employed him successfully on several diplomatic missions. His rise was then rapid. In quick succession he occupied the Sees of Rochester, Chichester, and London, and was also made Chancellor of Normandy.

On the death of Henry V. Kempe was appointed to a seat on the Council of the kingdom, and forthwith returned to England, having resigned the Chancellorship of Normandy. In 1426 the Bishop of London was summoned to meet the King at Leicester. He there waited on the little King, who was seated on his mother's lap in the Abbey of St. Mary des Prés. Presently the Lord Protector, the Duke of Bedford, entered with great state, and, having made obeisance to the royal child, placed the silver seal in his little hand, and he, by his mother's help, placed it in the hands of the Bishop. Kempe then knelt before him and took the Chancellor's oath. The next day the Duke of Bedford in full Parliament, with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, delivered up the gold seal to John, Bishop of London, who thus entered into the full dignity of Lord Chancellor.

In the same year Henry Bowet, Archbishop of York, died. The Government issued a *congé d'élire* to the Dean and Chapter requiring them

to elect Philip Morgan, Bishop of Worcester ; but the Pope signified to the English Government that he had already 'provided' for the see by translating Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln. A serious quarrel now ensued, and the Government threatened Fleming with the penalties of *præmunire*. The affair now became a party question between the Gloucester and Beaufort factions. Ultimately a compromise was arrived at, and both parties agreed to appoint Kempe, Bishop of London, to the vacant archiepiscopal see. The Pope saved his authority in a curious way by translating Fleming, whom he styled 'Archbishop of York,' back to his See of Lincoln. The northern Bishops and clergy were not pleased with this arrangement, and showed their resentment by appearing in dingy copes at the enthronement.

The first chancellorship of Archbishop Kempe lasted six years. He opened several Parliaments with suitable speeches, and stoutly resisted the encroachments of the royal Dukes of Gloucester and Bedford, maintaining the right of Parliament when sitting, and at other times of the Great Council appointed by Parliament to represent the King's person, and to exercise his Government 'withouten that any one person may or ought to ascribe to himself the said rule and government.'

The text used by the Chancellor for his opening discourse to Parliament in 1429 was Luke xi. 18, from which he dwelt on the danger and trouble arising from domestic quarrels and divisions in the State. It was due to his conciliatory management that Cardinal Beaufort was allowed to return to his native land as 'the Cardinal of England,' and to take a leading share in politics. Kempe was always on the side of Beaufort, and, when the influence of Gloucester seemed to be in the ascendant, he wisely retired from the chancellorship on the plea of ill-health in 1432. He brought the seals in two bags of white leather, called in the dog-Latin of the day *duobus baggis de albo corio*, and delivered them to the King in the Council Chamber, who forthwith delivered them to the Duke of Gloucester.

Archbishop Kempe was now employed in a very singular and delicate mission to France. The head of the mission was Cardinal Beaufort, and Kempe was attached to him as chief orator and preacher. The object of the mission was to arrange terms of peace between France and England; but the chief point of dispute lay in the assumption of the title 'King of France' by the English Sovereign. The convention took place in the neighbourhood of Calais. When Archbishop Kempe rose to address the assembly, he took for

his text a passage from the 'Revelations' of St. Bridget as having been uttered by our Lord to the Virgin Mary. From this he argued that the right and title of the English King to the throne of France came immediately from God, and that therefore victory over our French adversary had so often been granted to the English arms. The Archbishop of Rheims, on the other hand, quoted a prophecy of John the Hermit, who had declared that, although for her sins France should be afflicted by the English, the French should in the end expel them from the kingdom. The question was further complicated by the arrival of a Legate from the Council of Basle. But Archbishop Kempe resisted his interference and rebuked the Council for their want of submission to the Pope, whose sovereign rights he maintained. The conference broke up without arriving at any result, but Archbishop Kempe obtained his reward for having so strenuously upheld the Papal cause, and was created Cardinal-Priest by Eugenius IV. in December, 1439. There were thus two English Cardinals at the same time, York and Winchester, both of whom took precedence of Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, somewhat to the mortification of that great Primate of all England.

• At the beginning of 1450, the Cardinal-Archbishop, now seventy years old, was urged by

Queen Margaret of Anjou to accept once more the chancellorship, and we are told he took the three Great Seals, which were delivered to him in the white leather bags, to his country-house at Charing Cross. The Queen, in thus securing the promotion of Cardinal Kempe, was deeply anxious to save the life of the Duke of Suffolk. This unfortunate nobleman had been the chief instrument in arranging her marriage with Henry VI., but had inserted in the marriage contract a secret clause ceding Maine and Anjou to France. This measure was exceedingly unpopular in England, and the Queen consequently was received with coldness and looked upon as a Frenchwoman. It was also insinuated that Suffolk had been party with Cardinal Beaufort to the murder of the Duke of Gloucester.

One of the first duties of Cardinal Kempe as Chancellor was to preside over the trial of the Duke of Suffolk, who was impeached for high treason. There was no case against him, but Kempe, perceiving that in the present state of public opinion he would certainly be condemned, advised the Duke to waive his trial by his peers and to throw himself unconditionally on the King's mercy. This he did ; and thereupon the Chancellor, in the King's name, ordered Suffolk to quit England, and not to set foot therein during the

next five years. The unhappy nobleman did not, however, escape, for he was killed at sea shortly after leaving Dover by an emissary of his enemies, named Walter Whitmore, whose name Walter recalled an old prophecy made in his youth by a cunning man that he should meet his death by 'Water.'

The country was now in a very disturbed state. The incapacity of the King was only too evident, and the Queen was unpopular and called that 'outlandish woman.' The Duke of York fomented the disaffection and began to assert his claims to the throne. Great dissatisfaction was also felt at the exactions of the Chancellor and his officials. A formidable rising occurred in Kent under the leadership of one Jack Cade. For a short time Cade had astonishing success, and for a few days was even master of London; but after a bloody struggle in the streets, Cardinal Kempe managed to disperse the rebels by offering a free pardon to all except Cade, on whose head a price was set. Jack Cade, deserted by his followers, was captured by a Kentish gentleman named Iden. He died of his wounds, and his head was struck off and set on London Bridge.

The wisdom and energy of Cardinal Kempe was most conspicuous in these troublous days. He was the great support of the Lancaster party,

while the Yorkists called him 'that cursed Cardinal.' In 1452, on the death of Archbishop Stafford, the unprecedented step was taken of translating the Archbishop of York to Canterbury. Pope Nicholas approved the appointment, or, rather, made it his own by 'providing' Archbishop Kempe with the vacant see, and at the same time promoted him in the College of Cardinals by raising him to the rank of Cardinal-Bishop of St. Rufina and constituting him Legate *a latere*.

On October 13, 1453, the Queen gave birth to a son. As the little Prince was born on St. Edward's Day, he was named Edward. The Cardinal-Archbishop with the Duke of Somerset and the Duchess of Buckingham were sponsors. Immediately afterwards the infant was confirmed by the Archbishop. But the King had now sunk into a state approaching idiocy and was unable even to be present at his little son's baptism. The state of the country was even more disturbed than before, and the Archbishop converted his palace at Lambeth into a fortress, and armed his household 'with bows, arrows, swords, bucklers, crossbows, and all other habiliments of war.'

It was impossible to conceal any longer the hopeless state of the King's mind, and to prevent the Duke of York assuming his position as first Prince of the blood royal. A Parliament was

summoned at Reading, but the Chancellor was too weak to ride thither, and the Duke of York was made president. The Session was adjourned to Westminster, but before Parliament met again the Cardinal-Archbishop was dead.

Dean Hook sums up his life by saying that he was unfortunate as a statesman and failed in his duties as a Bishop, but was beloved by his family, honoured at Oxford, and mourned at his native birthplace at Wye, where he had been a munificent benefactor. When the King recovered from his fit of insanity, he said that 'one of the wisest lords in all this land is dead.'

Cardinal Kempe was buried in Canterbury Cathedral, where a remarkable wooden canopy surmounts his tomb. Though not of commanding genius, he obtained a very large share of honours and dignities. He was twice Lord Chancellor. He had held three bishoprics and both the archbishoprics. He was Cardinal-Priest, and then received the still rarer distinction of being made Cardinal-Bishop. These dignities are summed up by his nephew Thomas, Bishop of London, in the line:

'Bis primas, ter præsul erat, bis cardine functus ;'
to which Fuller added :

'Et dixit legem bis cancellarius Anglis.'

CHAPTER XIV

CARDINAL THOMAS BOUCHIER (1472—1486)

THOMAS BOUCHIER was a younger son of the Earl of Ewe, in Normandy, by his wife the Lady Ann Plantagenet, daughter of the Duke of Gloucester, who was the sixth son of Edward III. His illustrious lineage brought him early into notice. It was his lot to crown no less than three English Kings—Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII.—and by the marriage of Henry VII. with Elizabeth of York he was privileged to see the union of the Red and the White Rose factions, and an end put to the civil wars which so long distracted the nation.

By Papal dispensation Bouchier was made Bishop of Worcester while still under the canonical age, and a few years later was translated to the wealthier See of Ely. On the death of Archbishop Kempe the House of Commons petitioned the Council to appoint Bouchier to the vacant primacy, on account of his 'great merits, virtues, and the great blood he is of.' The King was at that time quite imbe-

cile, and the reins of government were in the hands of the Duke of York, who willingly assented to the appointment, as the Bishop of Ely was supposed to lean to the Yorkist faction, although he had given no offence to the opposite party. Accordingly, in January, 1455, Thomas Bouchier was enthroned as Primate in Canterbury Cathedral, with even more than the usual splendour of ceremonial. At the banquet which followed, the Archbishop was supported by all the leading noblemen of the kingdom, to many of whom he was nearly related. The Duke of Buckingham was present as Lord High Steward, and the halls of the palace were filled with guests from all parts of the country.

In the same year Queen Margaret, who had boldly assumed the royal prerogative in the name of her husband Henry VI., put an end to the protectorate of the Duke of York, and handed the reins of government to the Duke of Somerset, the chief of the Lancastrian party, and at the same time gave the Great Seal into the hands of Archbishop Bouchier. Soon after his appointment as Chancellor the Lancaster party suffered a great defeat at the Battle of St. Albans (May, 1455), but the Duke of York, who was again made Protector, allowed the Archbishop to retain office and to open Parliament in July, when he affixed the

seal to the Duke's appointment as Protector. Yet a few months later, when Queen Margaret again seized the government by a *coup de main*, the Archbishop rejoined the Lancastrians, and sealed the revocation of the protectorate. In all these bewildering changes the Archbishop held his own as a man distinguished for moderation and candour. Above all, he desired peace; he cared not very much which party was in power, if only peace was maintained throughout the realm. He was not, however, willing to join in Margaret's plans for the destruction of the Yorkists, and therefore resigned, or perhaps was deprived of, his office of Chancellor in October, 1456, when William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, took his place.

In 1458 Archbishop Bouchier brought about a temporary reconciliation between the York and Lancaster factions. A solemn procession and service was held in St. Paul's Cathedral. The Bishop of Rochester held the primatial cross before the Archbishop, who was attended by his suffragans in their most gorgeous vestments. The King followed alone. The Duke of York led Queen Margaret by the hand, and the nobles of the two parties walked together hand in hand. High Mass was sung, and after an interval of private prayer the Archbishop turned to the people and pronounced the Benediction, after which the service

terminated by a solemn sung *Te Deum*. We may well believe with Dean Hook that this was probably the happiest hour of Archbishop Bouchier's life.

The high hopes of peace entertained that day were not fulfilled. Ere long a quarrel, begun between some humble menials of the two factions, led to new battles and fresh conflicts, which brought about much bloodshed and caused the death of many nobles, including that of the Duke of York, who fell in the Battle of Wakefield, (December 23, 1460). But his eldest son, Edward, Earl of March, now displayed remarkable energy and military genius in rallying the defeated forces of his father, and soon Margaret, the foreign Queen, with her ill-fated husband, retreated northward. Edward entered London amid the acclamations of the citizens, and was solemnly crowned as Edward IV. by Archbishop Bouchier in Westminster Abbey on June 29, 1461.

Three years later Paul II. nominated Thomas Bouchier as Cardinal-Priest. But to accept the red hat without the King's consent would have *ipso facto* involved the loss of his archbishopric; Bouchier did not, therefore, accept the proffered honour, but next year King Edward himself requested the Pope to make Bouchier a Cardinal. The usual dilatory negotiations then took place,

and finally, in May, 1472, the Cardinal's hat was brought to England, and presented to the Archbishop with all the wonted ceremony and display at Lambeth. High Mass was sung by Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, who placed the hat on the head of the Cardinal in the presence of the Lord Chancellor and other great notables.

Cardinal Bouchier now withdrew as much as possible from politics, and occupied himself chiefly in the affairs of the Church. Yet from time to time he came forth from retirement to perform certain official duties. Notwithstanding much that he could not approve in the King's policy and conduct, Cardinal Bouchier kept steadily to Edward's side. It was from Lambeth Palace, where the King and the Earl of Essex had 'refreshed themselves all the Thursday and Good Friday,' that Edward rode forth at the head of 7,000 men with the Cardinal's blessing to fight the bloody Battle of Barnet on Easter Day; and when the battle had been fought and won, the Archbishop assisted at the grand *Te Deum*, which was sung at St. Paul's before the King and the Yorkist lords.

After the decisive Battle of Tewkesbury, by which the Lancastrian hopes were utterly extinguished, and after the inglorious campaign of Edward in France, Cardinal Bouchier was employed

in arranging the terms of the Peace of Picquigny between France and England. They were not honourable to either party, but it is pleasing to note that, probably through the Cardinal's influence, it was stipulated that Queen Margaret should be released from captivity and permitted to return to her native country which she never again left.

In the years 1470-1471 the fifth jubilee of the translation of Thomas à Becket was held at Canterbury. The King himself was among the pilgrims and was hospitably entertained by the Archbishop. It was thought by the Yorkist party that the Saint of Canterbury had specially favoured their aims, and accordingly the jubilee was a great success.

‘From every shire’s end
Of England to Canterbury they wend,
The holy blissful martyr for to seek,
That them hath holpen.’

The fame and merit of ‘the blissful martyr’ had spread far beyond the shores of England. One day the good people of Canterbury were astonished by seeing two camels and four dromedaries standing at their gates. They brought Peter II., the Maronite patriarch of Antioch, who, with many others from distant lands, received a welcome from the great Archbishop.

In 1483 King Edward IV. died suddenly and unexpectedly in the forty-first year of his age, leaving two young sons, the eldest of whom now became the rightful King Edward V. The story of that unhappy youth, murdered with his royal brother in the Tower by order of his uncle Richard III., is too well known to need repetition ; but we cannot pass by the share of Cardinal Bouchier in the sad tragedy. It must, however, be remembered that the Archbishop was now becoming advanced in years, and that his one anxious care was for peace, even peace without honour and at any price.

As soon as the Duke of Gloucester had been proclaimed Lord Protector of the kingdom, Queen Elizabeth, between whom and the Duke was a deadly feud, fled to Westminster, and there took sanctuary with her younger son, the Duke of York. A Council of State was then summoned, at which the Cardinal was commissioned to go to Westminster and persuade the Queen to surrender the young Prince to the keeping of the Council, otherwise, added the Protector, 'we must fetch the Duke of York out of that prison by force.' The Cardinal accepted the office, but protested against the violation of the sanctuary in terms which show how entirely he belonged to the old world of superstition, then fast passing away. His speech

is reported by Sir Thomas More in his 'Life of Edward V.' and is quoted by Dean Hook. He said such a measure would be highly offensive to Almighty God—'in that Church, which, being consecrated at first by St. Peter, who came down about 500 years ago in person, accompany'd with many Angels by night to do it, has since been adorned with the privilege of a sanctuary by many Popes and Kings : and therefore, as no Bishop ever dared to attempt the Consecration of that Church, so no Prince has ever yet been so fierce or indevout as to violate the Privilege of it. And God forbid, that any man whatsoever shall, at this time, or hereafter, upon any worldly advantages or reasons, attempt to infringe the Immunities of that most Holy Place, that hath been the Defence and Safety of so many good-men's Lives.'

Having delivered his protest, the Archbishop proceeded to Westminster. His interview with the Queen was long and painful. A minute account of what passed has been preserved by Sir Thomas More, who probably learnt it from Bishop Morton, who accompanied the Cardinal. The Cardinal by turns threatened and entreated, saying, 'If you resign your son to us, I will pawn my soul and body for his safety : if you refuse, I shall have done my part, and shall depart with the full determination never again to interfere in this matter.'

At length the hapless Queen gave way, and

saying to the Cardinal as she handed to him her son, 'I do here deliver him, and his brother in him, to your keeping, of whom I shall ask him again at all times before God and the world.' The Cardinal took the boy by the hand, and led him to the Council, and did not leave London till he had seen the two royal youths placed in the residential part of the Tower.

The Duke of Gloucester now discovered—or so pretended—that the children were illegitimate, because Edward IV. had contracted a previous secret marriage and was guilty of bigamy. The worthless Bishop Stillington even came forward to declare that he himself had celebrated the first marriage. The Duke of Gloucester therefore claimed the crown for himself, and summoned Cardinal Bouchier to assist at his coronation. The Archbishop assented. Many wise and sober statesmen thought at the time it was the best course to pursue, and when the Cardinal-Archbishop placed the crown on the head of Richard III., he was supported by quite an unusual array of nobles, prelates, and prominent citizens.

But a change soon came over men's minds. The two young Princes had disappeared, and the cry arose, 'What has become of the poor children in the Tower?' Cardinal Bouchier had pledged his honour for the safety of the boys, and he felt deeply for them. 'Where are your brother's

children?' he asked of the King. When no satisfactory answer was returned, he was filled with indignation, for the man whom he had trusted with their keeping was too plainly their murderer.

The Cardinal and the whole Bouchier family, in common with many of the best English statesmen, turned their eyes to a new claimant to the throne. The aged Archbishop took, indeed, no active part in the counter-revolution. But he evidently countenanced the efforts of Bishop Morton to promote a marriage between the two great factions, who had so long divided the kingdom. When the news of the Battle of Bosworth and the death of Richard III. reached the Archbishop in his retreat at Knowle, he was more than ready to anoint King Henry VII., and a few months later with trembling hand to celebrate his marriage with Elizabeth of York, or, as the historian Fuller quaintly puts it, 'to hold the posie on which the white rose and the red rose were tied together, whereby those roses, which formerly with their prickles had rent each other, were united together.'

It was the last act of the Cardinal. He went back full of joy to his much-loved home at Knowle, where he died on April 6, 1486. His body was conveyed to Canterbury and there buried in the cathedral. A grey marble tomb in

the choir marks the spot where his remains were laid.

As we review the long episcopate of Thomas Bouchier, which lasted more than fifty years, and in particular the thirty-four years during which he held the See of Canterbury under five successive Sovereigns, we feel that we are in the presence of a good man who tried to do his best in very troublous times. He was not a man of strong character, nor eminent either as a statesman or divine ; but he sought after peace, and strove to induce his clergy to live better and more godly lives. Though himself one of the old school, he had much to do with the introduction of the art of printing into England. He induced King Henry VI. to procure from Germany 'a printing mould,' and himself advanced 300 marks to bribe some of Gutenberg's workmen to come over to England. With great difficulty the first press was set up in Oxford. Some doubt exists as to these details, but it is certain that Archbishop Bouchier was a friend and patron of Caxton, and took interest in everything relating to literature. By his will he left 100 pounds to each of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, that poor scholars in need might borrow from the chests sums not exceeding 100 marks on giving security to the trustees. He also left a large sum to the poor.

CHAPTER XV

CARDINAL JOHN MORTON (1493—1500) AND CARDINAL CHRISTOPHER BAINBRIDGE (1511—1514)

CARDINAL JOHN MORTON was the third English Cardinal in succession who was both Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor of England. He was born about the year 1420 at Melbourne in Dorsetshire. He came of gentle lineage, and after having received his early education at the Benedictine Abbey of Cerne near his native place, he was admitted into Balliol College, Oxford, where he studied both canon and civil law, and took the degree of LL.D. with some marks of distinction.

Like Cardinal Kempe, he then went to London, and practised at Doctor's Commons, and by his talents and energy became the acknowledged leader of the ecclesiastical bar. Accordingly, Cardinal Bouchier, who was ever his good patron, recommended the eloquent lawyer to the notice of Henry VI., by whom he was made Privy Coun-

cillor and Prebendary of Salisbury with the valuable living of Blocksworth attached.

During the Civil Wars Morton adhered to the House of Lancaster with unbroken fidelity. He followed Queen Margaret and her son, the unfortunate Edward of Wales, in all their memorable wanderings ; for we are told that the 'parson of Blocksworth fled the realm with the Queen and Prince.' Morton returned to England during the temporary triumph of the Lancastrian party under the Earl of Warwick, but after the defeat at Barnet (1471) he hastened to meet the Queen at her landing at Weymouth, and conveyed her and the Prince to the home of his boyhood. After a short stay at Cerne Abbey Margaret took sanctuary at Beaulieu, but was present with her son at the Battle of Tewkesbury, where she was taken prisoner.

The hopes of the Lancastrian party were now extinguished, and Edward IV. became so firmly seated on the throne, that Morton felt he could rightly make his peace with the *de facto* Sovereign. He accordingly sought for pardon, and made his submission to Edward IV. The King was so struck with his straightforward and honourable conduct that he reappointed him to the Privy Council, and soon after conferred upon him the Bishopric of Ely and made him Master of the Rolls.

Dr. Morton became more and more closely attached to the King's person. He was sent on an embassy to the Emperor and the King of Hungary, in 1474, to arrange a league against Louis XI. He accompanied Edward on his expedition to France, and had much to do with arranging the peace with France in 1475.

It must have been an especial source of gratification to Dr. Morton that, as we have seen in the life of Cardinal Bouchier, the ransom for Queen Margaret was now arranged, and permission given to her to leave England. About this time also the system of 'benevolences,' or forced voluntary grants to the King, was introduced. It is believed that Dr. Morton suggested this plan, which would be entirely in accordance with his financial genius, and would account for the high favour of the King towards him.

In 1479 Dr. Morton, having resigned the Mastership of the Rolls to his nephew, Robert Morton, was made Bishop of Ely. He was consecrated Bishop by his friend and patron Archbishop Bouchier in the chapel of Lambeth Palace. His enthronement at Ely took place soon afterwards with unusual solemnity and magnificence. The Bishop, arriving at Downham, passed the night in fasting and prayer, and set out next day to walk to Ely. Downham is a small village

about three miles from Ely, where was a manor-house of the Bishops of Ely, who are still patrons of the living. The new Bishop wore only his rochet, and walked with bare feet and head uncovered, reciting his beads. In the Lady Chapel, after making an offering of five shillings, he rested, and the parochial clergy washed the feet of the Bishop. The cathedral was splendidly decorated, and thronged with spectators. The Lord Prior officiated with due solemnity, offering the accustomed prayers for the humble travel-stained man who occupied the episcopal chair. When all was over the Bishop retired to the vestry, where the cathedral clergy again washed his feet, and arrayed him in the gorgeous pontificals and jewelled mitre belonging to his office. Returning to the choir, the Bishop was enthroned, and celebrated High Mass.

After the ceremonies, which the old chronicler has described with great minuteness, the Bishop entered his palace and dispensed a splendid hospitality to all comers, rich and poor. At the Bishop's own table the bill of fare included roasted swan and venison, a porpoise stewed, a stork and a peacock with extended tail, and marvellous 'subtilities' of jelly and confectionary, with a 'posy' in honour of the King and Bishop. During the few remaining years of King Edward's life, Bishop

Morton occupied no public post. He delighted in his palace at Holborn, which included 'a vineyard, a kitchen garden, orchard, and enclosed pasture.' He was on most intimate terms with the King, whose dying bed he attended, and by whom he was appointed as executor of his will and guardian of his ill-fated children.

On the death of Edward, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, became Lord Protector of the young boy King Edward V. When Richard had determined to put the young Princes to death, he endeavoured, but in vain, to win over Bishop Morton to his schemes. The Bishop was not the man to forsake his royal pupil, the son of his benefactor and friend, and by rejecting Richard's overtures incurred his hatred against himself.

Every lover of Shakespeare knows full well that incomparable scene in the third act of *King Richard III.*, where Gloucester with a smiling face addresses Morton with the words :

'My Lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn,
I saw good strawberries in your garden there.
I do beseech you send for some of them.'

But before the messenger had returned with the fruit, Hastings was beheaded, and the Archbishop of York, Bishop Morton, and certain other lords, were made prisoners and sent to the Tower.

The imprisonment of Morton made a great

sensation. The University of Oxford sent a petition to Richard praying for his liberation, saying, 'The bowels of our mother, the University, like Rachel weeping for her children, are moved with pity over the lamentable distress of her dearest son.' Richard cared little for the University and its petitions, but he did fear that the people of London might attempt the rescue of so popular a prelate; and accordingly he gave Morton in charge of the Duke of Buckingham, who kept him in honourable confinement in Brecknock Castle. The news of the murder of the two Princes soon spread through the land, and filled the country with indignation and amazement. It was Morton more than anyone else, who saw in what direction lay the way of deliverance. He even gained an ascendancy over the mind of the Duke of Buckingham, his gaoler, and induced him to open negotiations with the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond; but fearing the weakness and incapacity of Buckingham, the Bishop contrived to escape in disguise to Ely, and after remaining some time in hiding proceeded to the coast and took ship for Flanders.

Bishop Morton now engaged in an active correspondence with England to promote the cause of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond. He was not discouraged by the failure of the first

insurrection and the subsequent execution of the Duke of Buckingham. To him was chiefly due the happy project of betrothing Elizabeth of York, eldest daughter of Edward IV. and sister to the murdered Princes, to Henry of Richmond, and of thus uniting the malcontents of both parties in his favour. He warned Henry of plots to capture him in Brittany, and collected money for the sinews of war, and spared no pains until his endeavours were crowned by the victory of Bosworth field, the death of Richard, and the coronation of Richmond as Henry VII.

The new King was not slow to reward those who had taken part in his great enterprise. On March 6, 1486, Morton was appointed Lord Chancellor of England, and at the end of the same year, on the death of Cardinal Bouchier, he became Archbishop of Canterbury.

For the long period of thirteen years to the very time of his death Archbishop Morton continued Chancellor of England, and, enjoying the full confidence of the King, took a leading part in controlling the great feudal lords. Many useful laws were passed under the direction of this great and learned prelate, some of which still remain on the statute book.

In order to satisfy the needs of the Exchequer the Chancellor had recourse to somewhat arbitrary

plans for raising money. He seems, indeed, to have had some sense of humour, for he instructed the Commissioners for collecting the revenue that 'if the persons applied to for the benevolence live frugally, tell them that their parsimony must necessarily have enriched them; if their method of living be hospitable, tell them that they must necessarily be opulent on account of their great expenditure.' This dilemma was known as 'Morton's fork.'

As Archbishop, Morton used strong measures to reform the lives of the clergy, and especially of those who were connected with the monasteries. He obtained a Bull from Innocent VIII. giving him full authority to deal with the wanton and dissolute, and acknowledging that many were in the utmost need of correction and reformation. During late years, efforts have been made to deny or at least to palliate the reports made of the immorality of the monasteries and convents at the time of the Reformation. It has been represented that the agents of Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell were unworthy of credit, and that the monasteries were suppressed to satisfy the avarice of Henry VIII. Such arguments cannot apply to the action of Archbishop Morton, and we venture to say that the Archbishop's letter to the Abbey of St. Alban's taxing them with the grossest immor-

ality, and charging individual monks by name with abominable crimes, is no whit less severe than the reports of Cromwell's Commissioners.

Armed with the authority of both Pope and King, the Archbishop made his visitation of the Southern Province. Delinquents were brought before him and severely dealt with. Unhappily, it must be acknowledged that the culprits were usually punished by fines of money, and the Archbishop gained the reputation of grasping avarice rather than of having a sincere desire for reform. Yet he was most munificent in his gifts and splendid in his hospitality.

‘For though he was unsatisfied in getting,
Which was a sin, yet in bestowing
He was most princely.’

In 1493, at the request of Henry VII., Archbishop Morton was created Cardinal by Pope Alexander VI., and made Apostolic Legate for England. Next year he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford for life. In the year 1500 the Cardinal Archbishop died full of honours and years in his palace at Knowle in Kent. He was buried in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral by his own special request, *coram imagine*—that is, close to the statue or image of the Virgin Mary on her famous shrine; but in the seventeenth

century the stone sepulchre which covered his remains became cracked and broken, and his bones were purloined and scattered.

Cardinal Morton was a wealthy man, but he employed his wealth to good purpose not only by will at his death, but by useful and benevolent works during his lifetime. The great Cut or Dyke from Peterborough to Wisbeach, known as Morton's Leam or Morton's Dyke, was constructed at his expense as Bishop of Ely. At Oxford he repaired the Divinity School and helped to build the University Church. At Lambeth Palace he erected the present gatehouse, and at Canterbury he largely assisted Prior Goldstone in completing the very beautiful central or Angel Tower. He was also a man of great literary attainment and a munificent patron of literature.

The fact that Sir Thomas More was in his youth a page in the household of the Archbishop has caused us to know many details of his domestic life at Knowle and elsewhere. We have pleasing pictures of the festivities at Christmas and of the plays performed for the amusement of the Archbishop and his guests. The table talk of the Cardinal and the jests of the professional fool, with the anger of the friar, who was made his butt, are all recorded by the faithful page, who does not omit to add that when he was waiting at table the

Archbishop would point him out to his noble guests, saying : 'Whosoever liveth to trie it shall see this childe prove a notable and rare man.'

Sir Thomas More never forgot the kindness of the Archbishop, who sent him to Oxford at his own expense. In his 'Utopia' he has left the interesting, but perhaps too flattering, portrait of his benefactor. He says :

'I was then much obliged to that reverend prelate, John Morton, Cardinal and Chancellor of England, Archbishop of Canterbury, a man who was no less venerable for his wisdom and virtue than for the high reputation he bore. He was of a middle stature, and his aspect begat reverence rather than fear. He sometimes took pleasure to try the mental qualities of those who came as suitors to him on business by speaking briskly though decorously to them, and thereby discovered their spirit and self-command. He was much delighted with a display of energy, so that it did not grow up to impudence, as bearing a great resemblance to his own temperament, and best fitting men for affairs. He spoke both gracefully and mightily ; he was eminently skilled in the law ; he had a comprehensive understanding and a very retentive memory ; and the excellent talents with which nature had furnished him were improved by study and discipline. The King

depended much on his counsels, and the government seemed to be chiefly supported by him. From his youth he had been constantly practised in affairs, and having passed through many changes of fortune, he had, at a heavy cost, acquired a great stock of wisdom, which, when so purchased, is found most serviceable.'

CARDINAL CHRISTOPHER BAINBRIDGE was Provost of Queen's College, Oxford. He became Dean of York (1504), Dean of Windsor (1505), Master of the Rolls (1506), Bishop of Durham (1507), and finally Archbishop of York (1508).

In 1510, Julius II., being jealous of the advancing power of France in Italy, made overtures to Henry VIII. to join an anti-French league. The Pope reminded Henry of the glory of his ancestors and their devotion to the Roman Church, and offered to place him at the head of the league with the title of *Caput Fæderis Italicæ*, Henry, flattered by the Pope's offer, at once sent Archbishop Bainbridge to reside at Rome as English political agent. Bainbridge acquitted himself so well in this capacity that Julius conferred upon him a Cardinal's hat in March, 1511. Henceforth he lived permanently at Rome, and never again visited his native land, although he continued to enjoy the revenues of the Archbishopial See of York.

Soon after his elevation he appended his signature as 'Christopher Bainbridge, Archbishop of York and Cardinal of St. Praxedis' to the Bull of Indiction, by which Julius II. summoned the fifth Lateran Council to meet in April, 1512. But Cardinal Bainbridge was not popular at Rome. He was overbearing in manner and hasty in temper, and altogether too English in his outspoken candour, lacking the suave but astute diplomacy of the Italian Cardinals. Paris de Grassis, Master of Ceremonies to the Pope, tells us how greatly the English were disliked at Rome, and speaks particularly of the insolence of Cardinal Bainbridge. When Leo X., at his accession in 1513, wished to restore the two last schismatic Cardinals of the Council of Pisa on their due repentance and submission, Cardinal Bainbridge alone with one other opposed the Pope's action, and refused to be present at their restoration or to give them the kiss of peace.

Bainbridge was not the only English Bishop residing at Rome. An Italian named Silvestro de Chigi, Bishop of Worcester, also claimed to represent England, and much rivalry existed between the Bishop and Cardinal. In July, 1514, Cardinal Bainbridge suddenly died, poisoned by one of his own servants. The murder was probably prompted by private revenge and to hide

the servant's own peculations. But the Bishop of Worcester was charged with having instigated the deed in order to get rid of a troublesome rival. The charge was investigated by the Pope's direction, and the Bishop was acquitted; but these continual accusations of poison and murder, even if many are unfounded, reveal a terrible state of things prevailing in the city where they could be thought possible.

The body of Cardinal Bainbridge was interred in the Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury, now forming part of the English College in the Via di Monserrato at Rome. His recumbent effigy, clothed in pontifical vestments, marks the last resting-place of this unpopular English Cardinal.

PLATE I.



CARDINAL WOLSEY.

CHAPTER XVI

CARDINAL THOMAS WOLSEY (1515—1530)

THE greatest of all the English Cardinals was undoubtedly CARDINAL WOLSEY. Perhaps it would not be too much to say that he was the greatest of all England's statesmen. No other Englishman ever attained to such commanding influence in both Church and State, and on the whole he used it well. Not only in England but throughout Europe was his influence felt. By his sagacious diplomacy he raised England in the scale of nations, and to his far-seeing statesmanship the peace of Europe was due. Among his many titles of honour none was better deserved than that of *Cardinalis Pacificus*—the Cardinal of Peace.

Many of the early English Cardinals owed their lofty position to the accident of birth. Several were more or less closely connected with royalty itself. This was not the case with Thomas Wolsey. He belonged to an essentially middle-class Suffolk family. His father was a grazier

and probably also a wool-merchant of Ipswich, as far removed from the traditionary legend of a butcher as he was from the nobility of the realm. From Ipswich grammar-school Wolsey was sent to Magdalen College, Oxford, where he took his Bachelor's degree with honours at the age of fifteen, and gained the honourable title of 'the boy Bachelor.' In due course he was elected Fellow and Bursar of his College, and had a large share in the completion of that most beautiful of all Oxford towers, known as Wolsey's tower, which distinguishes his College.

As an Oxford tutor Wolsey first came into notice. The Marquis of Dorset was so pleased with the way in which he taught and cared for his sons that he gave him the living of Lymington. Notwithstanding a foolish escapade which caused him to make acquaintance with the stocks of his own parish, he was appointed in the next year chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

In 1503, doubtless through the recommendation of Lord Dorset, he received his first appointment in the public service as Chaplain and Treasurer to Sir John Nanfant, Governor of Calais, and a special favourite of Henry VII. This office he fulfilled with such zeal and ability that he was brought under the notice of the King, and was made one of the Royal Chaplains. He had now

got his foot in the stirrup, says his biographer, and resolved to outstrip every competitor in the race for promotion. At the suggestion of Bishop Fox, the young chaplain was entrusted with a mission of great delicacy to the Emperor Maximilian in connexion with a matrimonial project of the King. This he executed with complete success, and with such extraordinary promptitude that the King on seeing him began to chide him for his delay in starting ; but Wolsey thereupon delivered the Emperor's reply upon his knees, saying : ' Sir, if it may stand with your Highness's pleasure, I have already been with the Emperor, and dispatched your affairs, I trust, to your Grace's contentation.'

The early death of Henry VII. ended these negotiations ; but Wolsey at once came into favour with the young and somewhat impetuous Henry VIII. He consulted the taste and disposition of his new Sovereign. He jested, he sang, he danced, he caroused with the King, and yet was always ready, when occasion required, to give good and sensible advice on important matters. In this way Wolsey obtained an ascendancy over Henry which his enemies thought must be due to magical arts, but was really the result of his own clever and not altogether high-principled conduct.

Wolsey was now sworn a Privy Councillor and made Almoner to the King. Gradually he displaced all rivals—even his patron, Bishop Fox—from the King's counsels, and for sixteen years was the mainspring of English politics, and moulded the history of England in a way never again achieved by any ecclesiastic or statesman. So great was his power that his friend and biographer Cavendish says: 'Thus the Almoner ruled all them that ruled before him; such things did his policy and wit bring to pass. Who was now in high favour but Master Almoner? Who had all the suit but Master Almoner? And who ruled all under the King but Master Almoner? Thus he proceeded still in favour. At last in came presents, gifts, and rewards, so plentifully that he lacked nothing that might either please his fantasy or enrich his coffers.'

Wolsey was next made Canon of Windsor and Chancellor of the Order of the Garter. Several rectories, prebends, and deaneries were conferred upon him; for the Pope had given him an unlimited dispensation as regards pluralities. He was lodged by the King in a magnificent mansion in Fleet Street, and in 1512 made Lord Treasurer. Success crowned his every project. The Battle of the Spurs, at which he was present, laid low the

French power, while the Battle of Flodden Field was a crushing blow for Scotland. When Tournai was taken, Wolsey was made its Bishop, and next year he was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln, and a few months later was promoted to the archbishopric of York, with which he was allowed to unite first the See of Durham and then that of Winchester. In addition to these, he farmed on advantageous terms the bishoprics of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, which were held by absentee foreigners, and also held *in commendam* the Abbey of St. Albans and other Church benefices.

The next diplomatic feat of Wolsey was to secure the French alliance by arranging a marriage between the King's sister, the Princess Mary, and the French King, Louis XII. He also induced Henry VIII. to apply to the new Pope Leo X. for a Cardinal's hat. The King wrote that he 'esteemed the Archbishop of York above all his dearest friends, and that he could do nothing without him.' How true this was may be seen from the fact that at the baptism of the Princess Mary (afterwards Queen) Wolsey stood as godfather, with the Princess Katherine Plantagenet and the Duchess of Norfolk as godmothers. But English Cardinals were not in favour at Rome. The English mind was too independent to be acceptable at the Vatican. Even at the present

day England is a puzzle to Rome. Leo X. was, therefore, not at all inclined to make another English Cardinal. But the Pope was alarmed at the success of the French King, Francis I., over the Spanish soldiery at the Battle of Marignano, and felt in need of a new alliance. The price of the alliance with England was the Cardinal's hat. 'If the King forsake the Pope,' wrote Wolsey, 'he will be in greater danger on this day two years than ever was Pope Julius.'

In presence of this threat Leo gave way, and on September 10, 1535, Wolsey was notified that he had been created Cardinal. The investiture with the scarlet hat and a magnificent ring sent by the Pope took place in Westminster Abbey with a splendour almost rivalling that seen at a coronation of the Sovereign.

Wolsey was not yet content. He had great schemes of reform in his mind, and in order to carry them out and to satisfy his own ambition he desired to be absolutely supreme both in Church and State. At the close of the year 1535 he received the Great Seal as Lord Chancellor, and he persuaded his royal master to apply to the Pope to make him *Legatus a latere*, or special Legate, so that he might take precedence in dignity and power over the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was only *Legatus natus*, or Legate

ex officio. The Spanish Ambassador wrote about this time concerning Wolsey: 'The Cardinal, who is Governor of the King of England, is a very strange person. He makes the King go hither and thither just as he likes.' And again he wrote: 'There is no man on the face of the earth whom His Holiness detests so heartily as the Cardinal; nevertheless, he will be constituted Legate.'

And so it was. Leo long resisted and hesitated, but he was driven nearly mad by fear of the French King, and at last gave way, appointing Wolsey chief Papal Legate in England. Wolsey was now at the zenith of his greatness, and even foreign Powers paid him court. The French King, Francis I., gave him a pension and compensation for resigning his bishopric of Tournai, promising also to support his candidature at the next Papal election. Charles V., not to be outdone by his rival, pressed upon Wolsey a Spanish bishopric, which he wisely declined, though he accepted a pension out of the revenues of the see. The Doge of Venice followed suit, and sent a large pecuniary offering with a most flattering letter. All sought his help and the friendship of the English King through him. Charles V. even made a special journey to England in 1520, and was met by the Cardinal at Dover, who escorted

him to meet Henry at Canterbury. Soon afterwards came the famous interview of Henry with Francis I. on the field of the cloth of gold, where the stately figure of Wolsey was the most splendid of all the glittering throng. The results of the negotiations were sealed by Wolsey with gold instead of lead, from which circumstance the document is known as the Golden Bull.

It is impossible within our limits of space to give any adequate idea of the splendour and state now affected by Cardinal Wolsey. The magnificent palace of Hampton Court, where the Cardinal's arms are still seen over the porch, was but one of his many splendid residences. In his correspondence he wrote 'The King's Highness and I give,' or 'The King's Highness and I like,' and it is said that in Latin he put himself first, using the celebrated phrase, *Ego et Rex meus*. When Wolsey, as Chancellor, opened Parliament the Cardinal's hat was borne before him by a nobleman or gentleman of high degree, while another carried the Great Seal of England; two other worthy gentlemen followed bearing two great crosses of silver, followed by two others carrying great pillars of silver, and by his pursuivant-at-arms with a great mace of silver-gilt, while the gentlemen ushers cried aloud: 'On, my lords and masters, on before! Make way for my Lord's Grace.' At

the celebration of Mass he was served by Bishops and Lord Abbots, and at his banquets Dukes and Earls offered him wine and held the bason when he washed his hands.

Only one thing remained for his ambition to reach—namely, the triple crown of the Papacy—and this he now kept steadily in view. On his return from France, Wolsey, in the plenitude of his power, set about his cherished design of reforming the English Church. He did not, indeed, wish to reform Roman doctrine, but rather to preserve it by improving the morals of the clergy and raising them, by a better education in colleges and universities, to a more worthy conception of their duty. He began with the monasteries. Many were governed with a lax hand by old and feeble superiors; some had so sunk in numbers that the daily church services could not be duly celebrated; in others gross immorality prevailed. Wolsey saw that the days of monasticism were numbered. He obtained a Papal Bull for the suppression of all convents with fewer than seven inmates, and he employed his legatine powers to bring about some improvement in the larger houses. In all, twenty-four religious houses were suppressed, and their revenues were applied by Wolsey to the foundation of a grammar-school in his native town of

Ipswich and a college at Oxford, called Cardinal's College, but now known throughout the world as Christ Church. But reform came too late. The fate of the monasteries was sealed. 'When the Cardinal began to cut the underwood,' says the historian Fuller, 'men justly feared that the King would fell the oaks.'

In 1521 Leo died. At the Conclave much wrangling took place. The Emperor promised his support to Wolsey, but it was insincerely given, and Henry VIII. was defeated in his efforts to obtain the tiara for his favourite. In the end an almost unknown but admirable man was chosen under the title of Adrian VI. This good Pontiff was himself heart and soul a reformer, and gave even yet further powers to the English Cardinal to continue his work. He is reported to have said that he had more confidence in Wolsey than in all the other prelates in the world. He also expressed his desire to see him and confer with him as to the state of the Church generally.

After a reign of only twenty months Adrian died of a broken heart. He had tried to do good and to reform the Roman Church, but his efforts had been met with ridicule and abuse, and had no practical result. Again Henry put forward Wolsey as a candidate, and the English agents at

Rome, Clerk and Pace, were instructed to promise a lavish expenditure of English gold if Wolsey was elected Pope. But the Romans had had enough of reform. They never again made the mistake of electing a non-Italian Pope. Another member of the great Medici family was chosen under the name of Clement VII. If Wolsey had succeeded, the history of the world, and particularly of the Church of England, would have been altered. We may be allowed to reckon it one of the mercies of God to England that he failed.

Wolsey now occupied an almost royal position, and affected an almost royal display. His London house, called York Place, was so magnificent that in after-years Henry took it for his own residence. When he moved from place to place, it was with the utmost pomp and a numerous train. On his last diplomatic mission to France he was attended by an escort of no less than 900 horsemen. His numerous estates and enormous revenues rivalled those of the King, and required the services of men of ability to manage them. It was thus that Thomas Cromwell came into notice as administrator for the Cardinal of the vast emoluments of the archbishopric of York. It was not, however, mere vanity that led Wolsey to affect such splendour, but it was rather part of his fixed policy thus to impress men's minds with a sense of his power.

But the clouds were now gathering which eventually formed the storm that swept away all this grandeur and power. The terrible question of the King's divorce was the rock on which the gallant ship of Wolsey's fortunes foundered. There can be little doubt that Wolsey himself was deceived by Clement VII.; not that the Pope was wholly insincere when he led the Cardinal to believe that the divorce would be allowed, as had been done in many previous cases, but his fickleness and timidity were such that he was ever shifting and procrastinating, first taking one side and then another, till he ended by ruining not only Wolsey, but himself and Rome. No Pope was more unfit for his high and difficult position than Clement VII., and both Rome and Wolsey found it so to their cost. It would be unprofitable and wearisome to enter here into all the unsavoury details of this celebrated divorce case. In the end, disgusted with the wiles of Roman policy, and hopeless of getting his cause settled, Henry took the matter in his own hands and married Anne Boleyn.

That marriage sealed Wolsey's fate. Henry was disappointed by the failure of him to whom he had thought nothing was impossible, and Anne had a rooted dislike to the great Churchman, who she believed had so long thwarted her ambitious

desires. The enemies of Wolsey—and they were not a few—now took advantage of the King's displeasure. The Dukes of Northumberland, Suffolk, and Norfolk, with other peers who had long chafed at Wolsey's state, drew up a terrible indictment against the Cardinal of no less than forty-four articles, among which were charges of arrogance and pride; of having used that fatal phrase 'the King and I'; of having placed the Cardinal's hat under the Royal Arms on money issued from the mint at York; of having made false accusations against the inmates of religious houses in order to suppress them and obtain their revenues; and of having in divers ways used extortion and oppression to the King's subjects; and, finally, the lords pray the King's Majesty 'to set such order and direction upon the said Lord Cardinal as may be to the terrible example of others to be ware so to offend your Grace and your laws hereafter.'

The King forthwith dispatched the Duke of Norfolk to demand the Great Seal, and signified to the now disgraced Cardinal that it was his Majesty's pleasure that he should surrender up York Place and all his possessions, and retire to his country-house at Esher. Wolsey knew too well the character of Henry. He made no attempt to defend himself, but threw himself on the

King's mercy. He surrendered, without a protest, all his immense riches in plate, furniture, and valuables, and gave up Hampton Court and York Place. The latter, renamed Whitehall, became the London Palace of the Sovereigns of England till its destruction by fire in the reign of William and Mary. The King, touched for a moment by Wolsey's humility, sent him a messenger with a valuable ring as a token that his affection for him was not extinguished. When Wolsey saw it, he dismounted from his mule and knelt down in the mud to thank God and the King who had sent him such comfort. When he arrived at Esher, he found the house was unprovided with the commonest necessities. His attendant, Cavendish, says : ' My Lord and his family continued for the space of three or four weeks without beds, sheets, tablecloths, cups, and dishes to eat our meat or lie upon.' He was so absolutely destitute that he was forced to borrow money to pay the wages of his now greatly reduced household. Not a word of consolation came from the Pope, and of all those who had paid court to him in his greatness, hardly more than two or three remained to show him kindness. Among these, however, was Queen Katherine, who wrote a letter of condolence and goodwill ; and we must also not forget Thomas Cromwell, who nobly stood by his fallen master,

and maintained his honour in Parliament, and saved his fortunes from utter ruin.

After a time the King sent very grudgingly some money for his immediate necessities, and ordered him to repair to his diocese of York, granting him at the intercession of Cromwell the revenues of the archbishopric and 1,000 marks from the bishopric of Winchester for his support. Wolsey accordingly made his way northward, travelling by easy stages, sleeping at different religious houses, where he was hospitably entertained with his retinue, which it is surprising to learn consisted of 160 persons, and twelve cars to carry his baggage. On Maunday Thursday he reached the Abbey of Peterborough, where he washed, wiped, and kissed the feet of fifty-nine beggars, on whom he bestowed liberal alms. Continuing his journey, he took up his residence at Southwell, and entered upon his episcopal duties. The character of Wolsey now appeared at its very best. Nothing became him so well as the time spent in seclusion and disgrace. The faithful Cavendish gives us a beautiful picture of his life at Southwell: 'He gave Bishops a right good example how they might win men's hearts. There were few holy days but he would ride five or six miles from his house, now to this parish church, now to that, and there cause one or other

of his doctors to make a sermon unto the people. He sat amongst them, and said Mass before all the people. He saw why churches were made. He began to restore them to their right and proper use. He brought his dinner with him, and bade divers of the parish to it. He inquired whether there was any debate and grudge between any of them ; and if there were, after dinner he sent for the parties to the church and made them one.'

But Wolsey was becoming too popular in the North, and his enemies took fresh alarm. They brought some secret charges of high treason against him, and induced the King to order his arrest. This was effected at York on the eve of his installation as Archbishop in the Cathedral by the Earl of Northumberland. The Cardinal was at first stunned by this unexpected blow, but after he had wept bitterly he recovered himself and submitted. As he was led towards London the people came out in thousands, calling out with a loud voice : 'God save your Grace ! God save your Grace. May the foul Evil take all them that have taken you from us !'

At Sheffield Sir William Kingston, with a guard of twenty-four beefeaters, met him to conduct him to London, and he then remembered how some fortune-tellers had foretold that his

end should be near Kingston. In view of this prophecy he had always avoided the neighbourhood of Kingston-on-Thames; but too late, says Fuller, he perceived that he had been deceived by the father of lies. Utterly broken in spirit and health, the once great Cardinal pursued his weary way till he became so weak that he could not sit on his mule without support. In this miserable plight he reached the gates of the Abbey of Leicester. Few scenes in English history are more pathetic than the arrival of the now dying Cardinal at this famous monastery. When the Lord Abbot and his monks received him with much worship and honour, Wolsey said, 'Father Abbot, I am come to leave my weary bones among you,' and straightway he took to his bed, from which he never rose again.

The following morning, November 29, 1530, it was plain that the end was approaching. When Sir William Kingston entered his chamber to see him, Wolsey uttered those memorable words which our great poet has immortalized: 'Well, well, Master Kingston, I see how the matter against me is framed; but if I had served my God as diligently as I have done the King, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs.' He then bade Kingston commend him to the King, and having been annealed by the Lord Abbot, he

expired in the presence of Kingston, who was standing by his bedside. The next day he was buried with due honour in the Abbey garth, but no stone now remains to mark the spot where he lies.

We would fain end our story here, but truth compels us to touch upon a sad page in Wolsey's history. After his death two persons, Thomas Winter and Dorothy Clansey, came forward and professed to be his illegitimate children. The twenty-seventh and thirty-eighth articles of his impeachment also charge him with having indulged in sundry immoral connexions, and there is too much reason to believe the truth of some, at least, of the things of which he was accused. We must, however, remember that even the Popes of that day were not free from such sins. It was a time of lax morals, and the worst examples were set at Rome itself. Whatever may have been the sins of Wolsey's youth, whatever may have been his sins of pride and vanity in later life, yet we have abundant cause to hope that his misfortunes brought him to true repentance, and that he found mercy at the last. It must always be remembered in his favour that for twenty years he had kept the impetuous and violent nature of Henry in such check that, so long as he remained in power, none of the bloody deeds were done

which so disgraced the last part of the reign of Henry VIII.

The touching words which Shakespeare has put into the mouth of Griffith, speaking to Queen Katherine, best describe the end of Wolsey :

‘ His overthrow heaped happiness upon him ;
For then, and not till then, he felt himself,
And found the blessedness of being little ;
And, to add greater honours to his age
Than man could give him, he died fearing God.’

Yet ‘ no statesman of such eminence ever died less lamented.’ In the words of Bishop Creighton : ‘ The King had forgotten his old servant ; his enemies rejoiced to be rid of a possible rival ; the men whom he had trained in politics were busy in seeking their own advancement ; the people never loved him, and were indifferent about one who was no longer in power. Not without reason has the story of Wolsey’s fall passed into a parable of the heartlessness of the world !’

CHAPTER XVII

CARDINAL JOHN FISHER (1535)

FISHER, Bishop of Rochester, and Wolsey, Archbishop of York, were contemporaries. They were both Cardinals of Rome—Wolsey for many years, Fisher only for a few weeks—but they were men of wholly different character and life. Wolsey was the greatest statesman of his day, but Fisher kept studiously aloof from all secular business. To Wolsey the King was everything ; to Fisher the Pope was first, and the King far behind as second. Wolsey was a man of the world ; Fisher was a man of God. Yet both met with a sad end. Both were accused of high treason. Fisher ended his life upon the scaffold ; Wolsey was on his way to the Tower, and probably to a like death, when his last sickness fell upon him, and released him from the hands of his gaoler.

John Fisher was born about the year 1470 at Beverley, in Yorkshire, of respectable parents of the middle-class. In those days a clever lad, especially if destined for the Church, was easily

able to obtain a University education. So, after having approved himself at the Grammar School at Beverley, Fisher was sent to St. Michael's College, Cambridge, of which he became in due course Fellow. A passage in one of his books alluding to his undergraduate days gives us a vivid picture of the teaching at Cambridge and of his own pious disposition. 'My master, William Melton, Chancellor of York, a man eminent both for holiness and for every kind of erudition, used often to admonish me, when a boy I attended his lectures on Euclid, that if I looked on the least letter of any geometrical figure as superfluous, I had not seized the true meaning of Euclid. But if the disciple of Euclid must be so careful in points of geometry, certainly the disciple of Christ must weigh well each word of his Divine Master, and be thoroughly convinced that there is not a word without its purpose.'

To no Cardinal is Cambridge so much indebted as to Fisher. He occupied many offices of the highest order in the University, being in succession senior Proctor, Master of St. Michael's, President of Queens' College, and Chancellor of the University. This last office he asked Wolsey to take from him ; but on Wolsey's declining the honour Fisher had the chancellorship conferred upon him for life. When only Fellow of his College Fisher

had so great a reputation for piety that he was made confessor to Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. and grandmother of Henry VIII. This great and good lady, guided by Fisher, was the foundress both of Christ's College and St. John's College, and also of two Divinity Professorships at Cambridge. The name of the Lady Margaret is held in the greatest honour at the University; but few, perhaps, of the younger students are aware how greatly her benefactions were due to the advice and influence of Fisher. He was himself a great patron of learning, and began to learn Greek at the age of forty-five and Hebrew three years later.

Henry VII. with his young son, afterwards Henry VIII., when on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Walsingham, visited Fisher at Queens' College, and remained with him for several days. The King had already been so impressed with the piety and learning of Fisher that he had nominated him as Bishop of Rochester, esteeming greatly, as he wrote to the Lady Margaret, 'his good and virtuous living and conversation.'

Fisher was looked upon as a model prelate. 'There is not,' wrote Erasmus to Reuclin, 'in that nation a more learned man or holier Bishop.' Dr. Hall in his 'Life of Fisher,' printed in 1655, gives a beautiful picture of the Bishop's life in his

diocese. He spent much time in private prayer and devotion. He joined to his prayers fasting and almsgiving. 'To the poor sick he was a physician, to the lame he was a staff, to poor widows an advocate, to orphans a guardian, and to poor travellers a host.' His household was conducted with the utmost simplicity and economy, although it was constantly the duty of the Bishop to receive and entertain Papal Legates and the Ambassadors of other great Powers on their way to and fro between Dover and London. In his visitation of his diocese, Bishop Fisher was most earnest in correcting abuses and in stirring up his clergy to more active and zealous ministrations. In one of his sermons on the somewhat strange text, 'My neighbours stood afar off,' he told the clergy that they should be the nearest neighbours of all, and not stand aloof either by bodily absence or by silence. 'We use,' he said, 'bypaths and roundabout ways in rebuking. We go nothing nigh to the matter, and so in the meantime the people perish in their sins.' Another pregnant sentence in one of his sermons is this, that 'all fear of God, also the contempt of God, cometh and is grounded of the clergy.'

Among the many friendships of Bishop Fisher, that with Erasmus was perhaps the most remarkable. Much and intimate correspondence passed

between these two great men, who entertained the deepest mutual esteem for each other. The Bishop gave Erasmus a pension of 100 florins a year, and by his influence Erasmus was appointed Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, while Erasmus wrote of his patron : ' Either I am greatly mistaken, or Fisher is a man with whom no one in our time can be compared, either for holiness of life or greatness of soul. I except only the Archbishop of Canterbury (Warham).' Another of his chief friends was Sir Thomas More, and from these two principal friendships the character of the Bishop may be judged.

Fisher always kept aloof as far as possible from politics, but when in 1529 complaints were made in Parliament of the abuses of the clergy, of their exactions for probate of wills and mortuaries, of pluralities, and non-residence, and farming lands, Bishop Fisher, whose diocese was probably the least blameworthy of all, made a passionate speech, and told the Lords ' that the Commons would do nothing now but down with the Church, and that all this was for want of faith : aggravating the danger the kingdom was in by the example of Bohemia.' The lower House, being informed of this speech, sent a complaint thereof to the King, and Fisher was obliged humbly to make apology.

But more serious troubles were at hand. The

Bishop was forced to take sides, both as to the terrible question of the King's divorce and the no less important matter of the supremacy of the Church. Fisher was a friend and counsellor of Queen Katherine, and fully believed in the righteousness of her cause. He was also a convinced Ultramontane Romanist, and for him there could be no possible Head or ruler of the Church but that one, whom he believed to be the divinely appointed Successor of Peter and Vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth. For both these reasons he fell under the King's displeasure. But there were other causes which aggravated his offence. The Franciscan Friars, whose principal home was at Greenwich, in the Rochester diocese, began to denounce the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn, and also to maintain the Papal supremacy in the pulpit. They were greatly helped by a fanatic nun, who was known as the holy maid of Kent, who professed to see visions and to work miracles. She pretended that she had received a letter from Mary Magdalene direct from heaven having the words 'Jesu, Mary,' written in golden letters for its heading. In accordance with this letter she prophesied that the King would die within seven months of his second marriage, and she said she had even seen the place prepared for him in hell. Such prophesies, if allowed to be spread abroad,

too often bring about their own fulfilment. So the nun, with two friars and two priests who supported her, were attainted of treason by Act of Parliament, and were all executed. Before she died the nun confessed to having deceived the people by her miracles, and one of the priests acknowledged that he had been misled by 'that false and dissembling woman.'

Unhappily, Fisher, in whose diocese the nun had prophesied, far from restraining her wild and treasonable utterances, seems to have half believed in them, and in his interviews with her he did not severely reprimand her. He was therefore arrested for 'misprision of treason'—*i.e.*, for concealing through carelessness or neglect his knowledge of guilty plots. In reply he said that he had not fully believed the nun, and had warned her of the danger of her words, and that if he had not disclosed to the King what she said, it was because he had been assured that the nun herself had given her warnings to the King. Notwithstanding these excuses, the Bishop was condemned to the loss of all his property and imprisonment during the King's pleasure. But Cromwell, who was now in power, was loth to proceed to such extreme measures, and by his intercession Fisher was let off on payment of about £300, which was one year's revenue of his bishopric.

In 1534 the Succession Act was passed, setting aside the Princess Mary, daughter of Queen Katherine, and settling the succession to the throne on the Princess Elizabeth, and any other children of Queen Anne who might be born hereafter. In the preamble of the Act it was further declared that the marriage of Henry with Katherine was illegal and invalid, that the divorce pronounced by Archbishop Cranmer was valid, and that the marriage of the King with Anne Boleyn was consequently both lawful and valid. Commissioners were sent forth to require all prelates and high officers to take an oath 'to observe, fulfil, maintain, defend, and keep, to their cunning, wit, and uttermost of their powers, the whole effect and contents of the present Act;' and 'if any persons, being commanded by authority of this Act to take the said oath afore limited, obstinately refuse that to do, in contempt of this Act, they become guilty of misprision of treason.'

Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More alone demurred to this oath. They were quite ready to swear to the succession as fixed by Parliament, but could not conscientiously swear to the other matters mentioned in the Act as to the first marriage with Katherine and the divorce by Cranmer. It is due to Archbishop Cranmer to relate that, for the sake of peace and quietness, he

urged upon Cromwell to be satisfied with the simple oath to the succession tendered by Fisher and More ; but the King would be satisfied with nothing short of complete submission, and both were sent to the Tower. To Fisher the Pope was first, and it seems plain that he had secret conferences with the Spanish Ambassador, Chapuys, as to the best means to thwart the King's policy. A letter of Chapuys is extant which urges Charles V. to interfere by force, saying : ' Bishop Fisher advises prompt action on the part of your Majesty, such as I recommended in one of my last despatches. Indeed, not many days ago he sent me word that strong measures were necessary.'

John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was now with certain others attainted by Parliament for 'intending, contrary to the duties of allegiance, to sow sedition, murmur, and grudge within the realm among the King's loving and obedient subjects by refusing the oath of succession.' They were further sentenced to the loss of all lands, manors, and goods, which were forfeit to the King ; and as regards all benefices and the bishopric of Rochester, they should be void as though the possessors of them were naturally dead.

Royal Commissioners were sent to Rochester

to take over the Bishop's goods. The inventory of the plate is preserved in the Record Office. It consisted of 'chalices, salts with the portcullis on them, two nutts with a gilt cover, a little standing masser, a little flat book with a gilt cover and the French King's arms inside, cruets, altar basins, etc., with portcullis, a mitre set with counterfeit stone and pearl, with the appurtenances, cups, flagons, basins : in all 2,020 ounces troy weight, of which 112 ounces is in gilt plate, 114 ounces parcel gilt, and 794 ounces white silver.' The portcullis, which was the badge of the House of Lancaster, doubtless marked the gifts of the Countess of Richmond, grandmother of Henry VIII. The Bishop had also a splendid library, which he had made over by deed of gift to St. John's College, Cambridge, but which was now rifled and scattered by the Royal Commissioners. They also found in the Bishop's oratory an iron chest securely locked, which they supposed held treasure ; but when broken open it was found to contain only a hair shirt and the discipline whips with which the Bishop was wont to scourge himself.

More and Fisher seem to have suffered great hardships during their imprisonment. A most pathetic letter of Bishop Fisher to Cromwell is dated December 22, 1554. It was written after eight months of imprisonment, and in it the aged

and infirm prelate again declares his willingness to swear to the succession, though he cannot do so to some of the particulars annexed to the oath. He goes on to tell the Secretary of State that his clothes had become shamefully ragged and rent ; but this he would willingly suffer, if only he could keep his body warm, and beseeches him of his pity to send him such things as are necessary. Finally, he begs for two indulgences—that he may have a priest to hear his confession and some religious books for the comfort of his soul—and concludes : ‘ This I byseche you to grant me of your charitie. And thus our Lord send you a mery Christmass and a comfortable to your hart’s desyer. At the Tour, the 22^d day of December. Yo pore Beadsman, Jo. Roffs.’

Henry was now more than ever determined to break with Rome. Accordingly, the question of the King’s supremacy as Head of the Church upon earth came again to the front. Parliament passed an Act giving to the King the title of Head of the Church upon earth, but not this time requiring any oath in connexion with it. On the passing of this Act a very curious medal was struck by the King’s command, having the bust of the King on the obverse with the inscription in Latin : ‘ Henry VIII., King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and

Supreme Head upon earth under Christ of the Church of England and Ireland.' On the reverse are legends of the same purport in both Greek and Hebrew. Although not required to do so by Parliament, Cromwell held a sort of court of private inquiry in the Tower, and having summoned Bishop Fisher, demanded to know his opinion on this further question.

We have no particular account of what passed at this interview, but there can be no doubt that Fisher entirely refused to acknowledge anyone except the Pope as Supreme Head of the Church on earth.

At this juncture a new Pope, Paul III., succeeded to the Papal throne. At his first creation of Cardinals on May 20, 1535, one of the seven new Cardinals was 'the Bishop of Rochester, kept in prison by the King of England.' As soon as Henry heard the news, he was naturally indignant at the Pope's action, and declared roundly that he would give Fisher another kind of hat, and send his head afterwards to Rome for the Cardinal's hat. He immediately ordered some members of the Council to go to the Tower, and summon 'the Bishop and Master More to swear to the King as Head of the Church ; otherwise, before St. John's Day they should be executed as traitors.' On their refusal they were again tried in the

Tower, and were condemned to be beheaded with all the revolting circumstances attached to the crime of high treason.

The King kept his word. On June 22, two days before St. John's Day, Fisher suffered death upon the scaffold on Tower Hill. The Cardinal, as we may now call him, met his end with great fortitude and Christian courage. He fully believed in the Papacy, and had acted sincerely according to his conscience, and had no fear of death before his eyes. On the day of his execution the lieutenant roused him at five o'clock to tell him that he had but four hours to live. The Cardinal replied : ' I have long looked for this message ; let me be left an hour or two longer, for I have slept but little.' Thereupon he fell to rest, and slept soundly for two hours or more. He then called his man, and bade him take away the hair shirt which he usually wore, and bring him a clean white shirt, for he said, ' this is our wedding day, and it behoveth us to use more cleanliness for solemnity of the marriage.' He then put on a fur tippet, and taking his little New Testament in his hand, he made the sign of the Cross, and began to go forth at the lieutenant's bidding. He was, however, too weak to walk to the Tower Hill, so two of the lieutenant's men carried him in a chair. He then took his Testament, and prayed

that as he opened it for the last time he might light on some comfortable passage. The book opened at the seventeenth chapter of St. John's Gospel, where he read : ' This is life eternal, that they might know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent. I have glorified Thee on the earth. I have finished the work which Thou gavest me to do.' He then closed the book, saying, ' Here is learning enough for me to my life's end.' Arriving at the scaffold, he left his chair, and mounted the steps with a firm tread. He then addressed the assembled people shortly and boldly, telling them ' to be loving and obedient to the King, who was good by nature, but had been deceived in this matter ; that he was led to death for wishing to preserve the honour of God and the Holy See, at which he did not grieve, but was content, for it was the will of God.' After this he knelt down and said certain prayers and the psalm *In te Domine speravi*, and quietly laid his head on the block, when it was severed with one blow of the executioner's axe. According to most accounts, the head was set up on London Bridge and the body exposed all day on the scaffold, but was honourably buried in the evening by the King's order within the Tower precincts.

There is reason to believe that Henry was very

unwilling to order the execution of the Bishop, whom he greatly esteemed for his learning and piety ; but the unwarrantable and unreasonable interference of the Pope was the true cause of Fisher's death. Cranmer always considered that the execution of Fisher was a blunder, as was that of Sir Thomas More. Queen Katherine felt the death of her zealous champion very deeply. She wrote to her nephew, Charles V., that 'she found a great consolation in the idea that she may, perhaps, have to follow so many blessed martyrs in the manner of their death. She was only sorry that she could not imitate them in life.' The Queen died just six months after the execution of Fisher.

On December 9, 1886, Leo XIII. issued a decree of Beatification for 'John Cardinal Fisher,' Sir Thomas More, and certain others who suffered martyrdom *pro Ecclesia Dei*. The Cardinal is, therefore, known to English Roman Catholics as the 'Blessed John Fisher.' The Festival of the 'English Martyrs' is celebrated on May 4.

PLATE II.



CARDINAL REGINALD POLE.



CHAPTER XVIII

CARDINAL REGINALD POLE (1536—1558)

OF all the sad histories in this world of disappointment and delusion, few are sadder than that of CARDINAL POLE. It is that of a man who tried to do right and who thought he was doing right, who was pure and upright in life, who was full of zeal and earnestness, but who was blinded to the full truth of the Gospel, who built upon a wrong foundation, and who lived to see with a broken heart his hopes shattered and his work on the point of being brought to naught.

Reginald Pole was the younger son of Sir Richard Pole, K.G., by Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury, who traced her descent through the Duke of Clarence to Edward III. He belonged, therefore, to the Blood Royal of England.

He was born in the year 1500, and at an early age was placed at the school of the Carthusian Friars at Sheen, near Richmond, where his mother resided. Henry VIII., who took great interest in his promising young relative, himself paid the fees

of £12 a year for his board and education. At the age of twelve, young Pole went to the school of the White Friars at Oxford, and seems to have entered Magdalen College soon afterwards as a nobleman, for he took his B.A. degree at Magdalen in 1515. While at Oxford he received a pension as King's scholar by the royal command, and at the age of eighteen was made Dean of Wimborne Minster in Dorsetshire, and soon afterwards two prebendal stalls were given to him in Salisbury Cathedral. As a layman he was unable to perform the duties attached to these offices, but according to the deplorable custom of that age, he was allowed to enjoy the revenues of the benefices after making some small allowance to an ecclesiastic to do the duty. He then proceeded to the University of Padua, where he continued his studies at the King's expense.

In 1527 Pole returned to England, but prudently kept in the background, that he might not be forced to take part in the terrible question of the King's divorce. After two years Pole, whose love for learning was insatiable, obtained the King's leave to go to the University of Paris. The French High Steward was officially informed that 'this young nobleman was nearly related to the King, and was one of the most learned personages of the age ; that Henry, moreover, had com-

manded him to pay his respects to the French Sovereign ; and that his family, who were persons of great merit and of high rank, desired that he might be particularly recommended to him.'

At Paris, Pole was employed by the King to collect opinions from the eminent Doctors of the University as to the lawfulness of the King's marriage with his brother's widow. The task was very distasteful to him, so he delegated most of the work to Bishop Fox, whom the King sent to his assistance. The University favoured the King's views, and Pole was thanked for 'having acted stoutly on the King's behalf.' On his return to England, Henry pressed him to take the Archbishopric of York, vacant by the death of Wolsey. Pole knew full well that by accepting this preferment he would be committed to an approval of the King's divorce. He therefore declined the proffered honour, and after a stormy interview with Henry obtained permission to retire to Padua, but continued to enjoy the royal pension and the revenues of his many benefices in England.

After his marriage with Anne Boleyn, Henry wrote to Pole, and demanded in peremptory terms an answer to the two definite questions: Is marriage with a brother's widow lawful? Is the supremacy of the Pope instituted by God? Pole

was in no hurry to reply, but eventually sent his answer in a manuscript book, 'In Defence of the Unity of the Church.' This extraordinary work, which was afterwards printed without Pole's knowledge, consists of four books. In several places the writer expresses great affection for Henry, and grief at being obliged to deal harshly with him; yet nothing can exceed the virulence of his invective against the King, or the extravagance of his views on the Papal supremacy. He declares that whosoever separates from the Pope cuts himself off from the Church, outside which is no salvation. All orders, all sacraments, all spiritual life comes to the body from its spiritual head, apart from whom we are no Christians at all. Then, in an ever-rising storm of passion he exclaims: 'If the Emperor were now crossing the Bosphorus to attack the Turk, I myself would follow him, and cry: "Turn thy sails and pursue a worse enemy of the faith, a viler heretic, one who is smitten with the same plague that is devouring Germany."'

He then went on to call Henry a robber and persecutor of the Church. He summons against him the blood of More and Fisher and that of the Carthusian martyrs, stigmatizing the King as viler than Domitian or Nero. He tells Henry that he is a sacrilegious perjurer, whose dead body deserves

to be cast out of its sepulchre as a useless trunk, unfit to have fellowship with his dead forefathers, and finally, asking pardon for his harsh words, and 'struggling with love and pity,' concludes by calling upon the King to repent and return to the Holy Church, 'lest, in the words of the prophet, iniquity be your ruin.'

Pole was a true Papal fanatic. He supposed that by this treatise he was doing God service, and he seems to have thought that, thus writing, he might frighten Henry into submission to the Pope. He did not rightly gauge the Tudor spirit. On the receipt of the treatise Henry dissembled his indignation, and, hoping to induce Pole to retract or suppress it, invited him courteously to return to England, and on his refusal stripped him of all his preferments, and never held any intercourse with him again.

This was not all. Pole was charged with having conspired with the Bishop of Rome against the King with a view to coming forward himself as an aspirant to the English throne. There can be no doubt that Pole had, in his writings, expressed a desire that the Emperor should take up the cause of the Pope against Henry, and, if necessary, invade England. With Pole the Pope was first and his lawful Sovereign second. Soon after this Sir Geoffrey Pole, elder brother to

Reginald, and his aged mother, the venerable Countess of Salisbury, with the Lords Courtney and Montague, were attainted with high treason. Among other charges against the Countess it was alleged that certain Papal Bulls were found in her house, and that one parson Warblington had conveyed letters from her to her son at Rome, and that she had forbidden her tenants to read the New Testament. Sir Geoffrey was acquitted, but the rest were condemned to death. On the scaffold the Countess positively refused to lay her head upon the block, saying, 'So should traitors, and I am none'; then, turning her grey head every way, she bade the executioner get it as he could, which he did 'in a very slovenly fashion.' When the news was brought to Rome, Pole only exclaimed: 'I am now the son of a martyr. Be of good cheer; we have now one more patron in heaven.'

Pole now wrote a preface to his book, which he sent to the Emperor Charles V. The preface is called an Apology, but the original treatise is mildness itself compared with the Apology. Henry is now the vicar of the devil, and as for Cromwell—'If a legion of devils drove a herd of swine into the sea, how many armies of devils must be in this Cromwell, who has thrust so many men down to hell?' Pole reminds Charles how

the Israelites were called upon to wipe out the crime of worshipping the golden calf even with the blood of friends and relatives, and how the tribe of Levi was blessed for consecrating their hands in the blood of their brethren ; then how much greater would be the blessing of those who should now consecrate their hands in the blood of those who have slain the people of God with ignominy? ‘Can it be,’ he cries, ‘that the chiefs of the tribes of the people of God, to whom I, one of those Levites, am sent to hold up that glorious and most pious example of the tribe of Levi, will fail to listen to me?’

Meanwhile, in December, 1536, Pole, who was still a layman, was ordained deacon, and immediately created Cardinal by his warm friend Paul III., who also named him Legate *a latere* to England, in the hope that, armed with this new authority, he might be able to arrange matters with the King. Pole proceeded forthwith to France, and made a public entry into Paris. But Henry, greatly offended by the Pope’s action, declared Pole a deeply-dyed traitor, and set a price of 50,000 crowns upon his head, and offered a force of 4,000 soldiers to the King of France if he delivered him up alive. The French king, however, gave him timely warning, and Pole, deeply mortified, made his way to the neutral territory

of the Prince Bishop of Liège, and thence, with some difficulty, reached Rome.

During the rest of the reign of Henry VIII. Cardinal Pole lived in quiet retirement in Italy, governing with singular meekness one of the Papal provinces entrusted to his care, whose capital was Viterbo. While there he became a member of the Oratory of Divine Love—a society of highly-cultivated and religious men who loved letters, and some of whom, at least, were favourable to the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith. During the short reign of Edward VI. Pole kept in constant touch with England by his correspondence, and informed himself of the course of events in his native country. He wrote several letters to the Lord Protector, Somerset, asking to be recalled to his country and placed on the Council of the kingdom. But Somerset paid little attention to his appeals, saying that England had no need of the Pope.

At the Papal Conclave of 1549, Pole narrowly escaped being made Pope himself. He only lacked two votes for the necessary majority, and was begged to enter the chapel, where he would have been elected by acclamation. He, however, asked the Cardinals to defer the election till the next morning, and thereby he lost his chance. During the night Cardinal Caraffa, who bore a

grudge against Pole, secretly visited the Cardinals in their cells, insinuating that Pole was tainted with Lutheranism, and that he had not been sufficiently zealous in suppressing heresy during his rule at Viterbo. Eventually, after a long struggle, Cardinal del Monte was chosen under the name of Julius III. When Pole approached to kiss the new Pontiff's feet, Julius rose and embraced him, and told him with tears that he owed the Papacy to his disinterestedness.

In the summer of 1553 Edward VI. died, and Queen Mary came to the throne. Julius at once renewed the legatine powers of Cardinal Pole, who set out full of hope for England. But many obstacles met him on his way. The name of Legate was distasteful to the English, and the country was not ready to bow at once beneath the Papal yoke. Above all, Charles V. had determined to secure the hand of Mary for his son, Philip of Spain, and was not at all willing to allow the presence in England of a possible rival in Cardinal Pole. For the Cardinal was of the blood royal, of handsome appearance and winning manners, and only in deacon's orders, and it was known that a party in England favoured the idea of such a marriage, and that it would be possible to obtain a Papal dispensation. It is certain that Pole had frequent correspondence

with the Queen, and that he was not favourable to the Spanish match. He also suggested to the Queen that an Act of Parliament should be passed confirming the marriage of Henry VIII. with her mother, Queen Katherine, and Mary wrote to inform him that the Act had passed 'without scruple or difficulty.'

The Emperor was, however, sufficiently powerful to influence the Pope to give the Cardinal another mission, and to keep him out of England, until the Queen was safely married to Philip. Pole, who had waited more than a year, was now almost in despair, and wrote to the Pope for leave to abandon his mission and return to Rome; but Julius answered that it would be an unworthy thing for Pole to end his life with such want of firmness of purpose, when he had already sacrificed country, property, and parents for the sake of his religion, and had so nobly borne the loss of the pontificate, which was so nearly his, and that the honour that he won by leaving the Conclave without the tiara was worth a hundred tiaras. Let him not fear an Emperor now on his death-bed, but let him act manfully, and win a truly apostolic crown by restoring his country to the Church and the Church to his country. Perhaps Divine Providence had withheld the Papal crown that he might wear a more precious diadem than

he could ever obtain within the narrow circuit of the City walls. Above all, let him not give occasion to the calumny that he had begged the Emperor to support his candidature for the Papacy at the next vacancy.

Accordingly, Pole wrote personally to King Philip, and after recounting his sufferings on behalf of the Roman Catholic faith, his long banishment of over twenty years from his native land, and the cruel death of his venerable mother, he requested that he might be allowed to return, and be received with all due honour as the representative of the Pope. At the same time he urged on the King and Queen the necessity of procrastinating no longer to make complete submission to the Pope, and bringing back England to the ancient Faith.

After some negotiations concerning the alienated Church lands, which were conducted by the Spanish Ambassador Renard, a Bill was brought into the House of Lords to reverse the Act of Attainder. It was passed in two days and sent to the Commons, who read it thrice in the same day. The Act then received the royal assent, and was sealed with the Great Seal, not, as usual, in wax, but in gold.

Two noble Privy Councillors, the Lords Paget and Hastings, with a train of forty gentlemen, set

out at once to escort the Cardinal to England. At Calais a splendidly appointed vessel was in readiness, and was accompanied by six men-of-war as it conveyed him to Dover. On landing Pole was received by a crowd of nobles and prelates as one of the Royal Family, as well as a prince of the Church. At Gravesend, amid ringing of church bells and shouts of the people, he was welcomed by the Bishop of Durham and the Earl of Shrewsbury on behalf of the King and Queen, and was formally presented with a copy of the Act reversing his attainder. He then entered the royal barge, manned by rowers in the royal livery, and bearing the silver-gilt legatine cross at the prow and the English ensign at the mast-head. Twenty other barges followed, and the procession advanced up the river with strains of music and chanting of litanies of the saints. At Whitehall stairs the Cardinal was met by the Lord Chancellor and taken to the King, who met him and embraced him at the Court gate, and conducted him to the Queen. After a long conference with the King and Queen, the Cardinal proceeded to Lambeth Palace, Cranmer being at that time in prison, and under sentence of death at Oxford.

The Cardinal lost no time in fulfilling his mission. Within a week of his landing he attended the House of Lords in state. Robed in

the scarlet *cappa magna*, with tippet of ermine, the Lord Legate, whose seat was placed on the Queen's right hand, rose to address the two Houses of Parliament in the presence of the two Sovereigns. After thanking them for their kindness to himself, and insisting on all the blessings which England had received from the Holy See, he besought Parliament to repeal all laws by which they had cut themselves off from the centre of unity, and to be reconciled to Rome.

Accordingly, on the following day, both Houses presented a joint petition on behalf of the nation to the Papal representative. By this petition, afterwards embodied in 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, Chap. 8, Sec. 2, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons assembled in Parliament, declared themselves 'very sorry and repentant of the schism and disobedience committed in this realm and dominions against the Apostolic See,' and promised 'to do that shall lie in us for the abrogation of the laws and ordinances made against the supremacy of the said See,' and finally, they set forth their humble suit 'that we may obtain from the See Apostolic absolution, release, and discharge from all such censure and sentences as by the laws of the Church we be fallen into.'

The next day, November 30, 1554, being St. Andrew's Day, the King and Queen repaired again to the House of Lords, having directed the

Lord Chamberlain with six Knights of the Garter to accompany the Lord Legate from Lambeth to Westminster. The Cardinal, preceded by officials bearing heavy silver axes and verges tipped with silver-gilt and the processional cross, and attended by his chamberlains, chaplains, and secretaries, entered the House, and took his seat, as before, on Her Majesty's right hand, King Philip standing on her left. The Lord Chancellor having read the petition and the decree of the Pope giving his Legate authority to act, the Cardinal delivered a long speech from his chair of state. When at length he rose to give the absolution, the King and Queen rose also, and, every peer and commoner falling upon his knees, the Cardinal uttered these words : 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, who by His most precious Blood hath redeemed and washed us from all our iniquities, that He might purchase to Himself a glorious Church without spot or wrinkle, and Whom the Father hath appointed Head over all things, of His great mercy grant you pardon and absolution ; and We, by Apostolic authority committed unto Us by Our most Holy Lord Pope Julius III., His delegated Ruler upon earth, do thus absolve and deliver you, and each of you, with the whole realm and dominions thereof, from all heresy and schism, and from all penalties, judgments, and censures in that case incurred ; and We also now restore you again to

the visible Unity of our Holy Mother the Church, as in Our letters shall more plainly appear, in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.'

After this their Majesties, with the Cardinal and great officers of state, went to the Chapel Royal, and returned thanks to Almighty God by a set form of prayer with solemn *Te Deum*. Then Convocation, being duly assembled, made confession of their errors, and proceeded to take order for the restoration of the Mass, and for completely bringing back the nation to the Roman use. Moreover, with short-sighted vision of the future, they ordered that St. Andrew's Day should be marked for ever by a solemn procession in honour of the reconciliation of England with the Holy See. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, not to be behind the clergy, waited upon the Lord Cardinal, and desired his Grace to make a public entry into the City. This was done on Advent Sunday, when the Cardinal went in great state in his barge to St. Paul's Wharf, where the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Ancient City Guilds met him, and brought him to the Cathedral to hear solemn Mass in the presence of the King and Queen.

In one respect the Cardinal showed himself indulgent: he allowed those who had entered into possession of Church lands to retain them, though he set before them the fate of Belshazzar,

and warned them of the danger of putting sacred things to a secular use. Accordingly, two wealthy landowners devoted their Church revenues to founding Trinity College and St. John's College at Oxford.

The great work of Cardinal Pole was now complete. England was reconciled and brought under the Papal yoke. Two medals struck at Rome celebrate the event. In one Julius III. raises England with the words, 'England, thou shalt rise again'; while the other represents a flock feeding on the seven hills of Rome with the legend: 'We also' (*i.e.*, the English people) 'are His people and the sheep of His pasture.'

In 1556 the Queen, with the Pope's consent, appointed Pole to the archbishopric of Canterbury. He was ordained priest on March 20 in the Grey Friars' Church at Greenwich, and two days later was consecrated as Archbishop in the same church. It was the very day after the burning of Cranmer, who perished at Oxford on March 21. That night an unknown hand wrote upon the gates of Lambeth Palace the solemn words of Scripture: 'Hast thou killed and also taken possession?' Three days later Bow Church was hung with arras and cloth of gold, and after high Mass, sung by the Bishop of Worcester, the Cardinal was solemnly confirmed in his archbishopric.

In every direction the influence of the Cardinal

PLATE III.

THE MEDAL OF THE RECONCILIATION.



JULIUS III.

The Pope bids England rise again.
Charles V., Philip II., Queen
Mary, and Cardinal Pole assist.

THE MEDAL OF THE ARMADA.



"I am struck, but not hurt."



"The LORD blew upon them, and they
were scattered."

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY

was now felt. He was elected Chancellor of both Universities, and showed his zeal for education by revising the statutes at Oxford. The clergy, most of whom had married during the previous reigns, were now constrained to put away their wives ; and their children, though born in lawful wedlock, were looked upon as so disgraceful that in the injunctions given to Hereford Cathedral it is ordered 'that the Dean and Chapter shall receive no bastards or priests' children to be choristers.'

How far Pole had a share in the fires of Smithfield is not clear. His gentle nature revolted at the cruelties of Bonner and Gardiner, but he was overruled, and silently acquiesced in what his conscience disapproved. When Cranmer twice appealed to him, he declined to interfere, but at least three heretics condemned to the stake by Bonner were pardoned by the Cardinal, who merely enjoined a penance and gave them absolution.

Meanwhile, a new Pope, Paul IV., was ruling at the Vatican. He was a hot-blooded Neapolitan of the Caraffa family, who longed to see the Spaniards driven out of Italy. The policy of the Holy See became therefore anti-Spanish, and was ranged altogether on the side of France. Mary remained steadfast to her husband, and, moreover, had reasons of her own for hostility with France ; so in June, 1557, war was declared by England

against the French. The Pope, vexed at Mary's action, and resenting the suggestion of Pole that he should act as mediator between France and Spain, now revoked the Cardinal's legatine powers, and cited him to appear before the Holy Office of the Inquisition at Rome to explain his conduct: for while Pole was putting down heretics in England, he was himself accused of heresy at Rome.

The Queen, grievously hurt, wrote to the Pope that she considered it part of her royal prerogative to have a Lord Legate in England, and that the Archbishop of Canterbury had by custom immemorial always acted as Legatus Natus. She went further, and closed the English ports, that no new Legate or Papal messenger might land in England, while Pole wrote himself to the Pope appealing to all he had done for the Papal cause in England. The matter was allowed to drop; but it was the very irony of history that such a man as Pole should be suspected of secretly favouring Lutheranism, though there is reason to believe that the Cardinal was averse to the extreme measures of the fagot and the stake.

Dark days were now in store for both Mary and Pole. The alienation of her husband, intense mortification at her own childless condition, the death of the Emperor, and the loss of Calais, proved a burden too heavy for the Queen to bear.

Moreover, there was an evident revulsion of feeling in the minds of the people. They had been promised many blessings, if only they submitted to the Pope, and they had experienced, on the contrary, a succession of bad harvests, unusual sickness of both man and beast, and loss of territory. Besides all this, the heroic deaths of Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, and others, and the cruel burning of even humble men and women for their religion, opened men's eyes to the real character of the Roman Church.

Bitterly disappointed and almost broken-hearted, Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole died within two days of each other. Anxious, worn, and weary, the great Cardinal-Archbishop expired on November 19, 1558. He was a Papist after the type of Erasmus. His life was singularly pure and free from all moral blame, and according to his light he was both earnest and conscientious. He was buried in Canterbury Cathedral, near the tomb of Thomas à Beckett, but no monument or inscription now marks the spot where he lies.

More than 250 years elapsed after the death of Pole before another Papal Legate visited England on a mission from the Pope in the person of Cardinal Consalvi, in 1815, and yet another fifty years passed before an English Cardinal again resided in England in the person of Cardinal Wiseman.

CHAPTER XIX

CARDINAL WILLIAM PETO (1557—1558)

VERY little is known of the birth and parentage of this somewhat obscure man. His very name is spelled in several different ways, and the date and place of his birth are equally unknown. He seems, however, to have been connected with the Throgmortons of Warwickshire, one of whom was the faithful helper of Cardinal Pole. As by all accounts he was in extreme old age at his death, we may infer that he was born well before the end of the fifteenth century.

WILLIAM PETO was a Franciscan friar, and was appointed confessor to the young Princess Mary. He seems to have been wholly devoted to Queen Katherine and her daughter, the young Princess, and could ill brook the misfortunes which were coming upon them. On Easter Day, 1532, Peto, who was then Provincial of the English Grey Friars, was appointed to preach before King Henry at the Franciscan church at Greenwich.

The subject of the King's divorce filled all men's minds, and the intrepid friar seized the opportunity to plead boldly the cause of his royal mistress. In his memorable sermon he denounced the divorce, and warned the King not to be led aside by self-will and flattery ; and then, assuming the manner and the words of the prophet Elijah, he threatened the King with the fate of Ahab, whose blood the dogs licked up,* if he refused to obey the message of God.

Next Sunday the King ordered his own chaplain, Dr. Hugh Curwen, to preach on the other side in the same place ; but his sermon was interrupted by Henry Elston, Warden of the convent, and another friar, who denounced the preacher as 'one of the four hundred prophets of Ahab, into whom the spirit of lying entered,' and as one who was seeking to establish in England a succession of the fruit of adultery.

Henry, however, dealt very leniently with Peto. He sent for him and endeavoured to reason with him from his own point of view, and only after repeated arguments and a little gentle imprisonment in 'a tower in Lambeth over the gate' had

* This prophecy of Peto is said to have received a strange and literal fulfilment when the body of King Henry lay for a night at the lonely monastery of Syon, on its way for interment at Windsor.

proved useless, he was set at liberty and allowed to leave the country.

Early in 1533 Peto, with his friend Elston, settled at Antwerp. There the two Franciscans kept up a constant correspondence with the English Grey Friars, sending to them books and pamphlets on the matter of the divorce. While at Antwerp, Peto met the great Bible translator, William Tyndale, and tried to enlist him in the cause of Queen Katherine ; but that good man had better work on hand, and refused to be drawn into the tangled web of politics. Peto was now in active correspondence with Bishop Fisher, Sir Thomas More, and Reginald Pole, so that it is no matter of surprise to find that he was included in the Bill of Attainder passed against Pole and his adherents in 1539.

For some years from that time he appears to have wandered about Italy. In 1547 the Vatican records show that Paul III. nominated Peto as Bishop of Salisbury ; but he does not seem ever to have taken possession of the see, for when he returned to England, he at once resigned the appointment on the plea of old age.

On Mary's accession Peto succeeded Cardinal Pole as Warden of the English Hospital at Rome, but soon came back to his old convent at Greenwich, which Mary had restored to the Franciscans.

He also again became Mary's confessor, and as such must have been largely responsible for the cruel burning of heretics.

On June 14, 1557, Paul IV., who had no love for Pole, and was dissatisfied with the Spanish policy of the Queen, suddenly created Peto a Cardinal and Legate *a latere* in place of Cardinal Pole, who was summoned to Rome to explain his conduct. The Queen was grievously offended by this creation. She declared that the office of Legate was inherent in the See of Canterbury, and that she was not willing to have a second Legate in England. Mary fully shared the Tudor spirit of her father, and was not ready to obey the Pope when he crossed her inclinations. She gave orders at Calais to stop the Papal messenger who was bringing the biretta, and refused to allow the Bull of appointment to be brought into England.

Later in the year Cardinal Charles Caraffa, who had been sent by the Pope to meet King Philip in Flanders, was commissioned to induce Peto to return to Rome and assume the dignities of a Cardinal. But the weary old man coveted none of these honours. He only asked to be allowed to retain his cell and his grey habit in his much-loved convent in Greenwich, where he died in April, 1558, a few months before Pole and Mary.

CHAPTER XX

CARDINAL WILLIAM ALLEN (1587—1594)

WILLIAM ALLEN was the second son of a Lancashire gentleman of good family, named John Allen, of Rossall. He was born in 1532, and went to Oriel College, Oxford, at the age of fourteen. He took his B.A. degree in 1550 with such distinction that he was forthwith elected Fellow of his College, and in 1556 became Principal of St. Mary's Hall, which post he retained till 1561. It is very significant of the times that a man of such decided Roman opinions could go on quietly pursuing his studies at Oxford through the reign of Edward VI., and could continue to hold the headship of a college undisturbed for some years in the reign of Elizabeth. Yet it is not to be believed that William Allen changed his religion with the change of Sovereign, like the Vicar of Bray; but it is to be remembered that he was not yet in Holy Orders, and so may have managed to escape taking the oath of supremacy.

When his further stay at Oxford became un-

PLATE IV.



CARDINAL ALLEN.

welcome to the authorities, Allen resigned all his offices, and took up his abode in the University of Louvain in Belgium. There he maintained himself by acting as tutor to a rich young gentleman named Christopher Blunt, who afterwards perished on the scaffold in 1600. But soon Allen's health became seriously impaired. He was threatened with consumption, and was recommended by his medical advisers to go back to his native air in Lancashire. Allen took their advice, and at great personal risk returned to England in 1562. The plan was completely successful, and the Lancashire air, not now thought very suitable for delicate lungs, soon cured the young sufferer.

Allen was not a man to remain long in retirement. The strength of his religious convictions, his energy of character, and his winning personality marked him out as a leader of men. Even at Louvain he had taken a position of influence among his fellow exiles, and his return to Lancashire served to rally in a wonderful way the dispirited and disgraced remnants of the Roman Catholic party.

He found that many of the Roman Catholic gentry, terror-stricken lest they should forfeit both lands and life as recusants, were in a measure conforming by occasionally attending the services of the Established Church. These 'Church-

Papists,' as they were called, would indeed usually take their departure before the sermon began, but nevertheless some of them were slowly adapting themselves to the Anglican Church. All such bowing down in the house of Rimmon Allen denounced as an atrocious crime, and declared that 'whosoever was contaminated by it could on no account remain in the Roman Church.'

Priests now began to be harboured in private houses, and rooms were fitted up for the celebration of the Mass. Some of these still exist. In Coldham Hall, Suffolk, there is a long row of servants' bedrooms in the attics, with doors opening into a corridor all exactly resembling each other. But on opening one of these doors the visitor finds himself in a chamber with a vaulted ceiling, with traces of colour and remains of decorations, clearly indicating its use as a chapel. In the same house there is a trap-door in the floor of the large drawing-room on the first floor, opening into a secret entresol, about four feet in depth, between the two principal reception-rooms, in which a recusant priest might be hidden at the first alarm. In such houses Allen eluded the vigilance of the authorities, first in Lancashire and then in Oxfordshire and Norfolk, and everywhere he rallied the drooping spirits of the Roman Catholics, and, though not in Holy Orders, was

largely instrumental in restoring the Mass. At length he was pursued so closely that he was obliged to flee for his life, and left England in 1565, never to return.

Allen now went back to the Low Countries, and was ordained Deacon at Mechlin. But his heart was still with his co-religionists in England, and by degrees he formed the project of founding an English college in connection with the University of Douay, where English youths belonging to the chief Roman Catholic families might receive a first-rate education, and where, above all, a body of learned priests might be trained ready to go to England as opportunity might offer.

The English college at Douay was founded in 1568. The splendid buildings, which still exist near the present railway-station, and are now used as barracks for 700 men, bear witness to its great prosperity. Pius V. gave his warm approval to the scheme, and his successor, Gregory XIII., became a liberal patron of the college, subscribing annually 100 gold crowns for its maintenance. In 1577 there were about 120 students in the seminary and 160 English lads attached to the University who lived in the college. These students were filled with enthusiasm to brave all dangers in going back to England to propagate their faith, and many aspired to a martyr's crown.

Not a few realized their wish by being 'hung, drawn, and quartered' as traitors. The so-called protomartyr of Douay was Cuthbert Mayne, who suffered in 1577, and was soon followed by John Nelson and Thomas Sherwood, who were executed early in the following year at Tyburn.

It was part of Allen's system at Douay that his pupils should keep up a constant correspondence with their friends in England, beseeching them not to damn their souls by conforming to the English Church under pretence of preserving their property for themselves and their children, and entreating those who had been their former companions to forsake all and come to Douay. In this way Edmund Campion, who afterwards became so famous as a Roman missionary in England, was himself drawn to Douay, and after he had finally cast in his lot with Rome, Campion, by this same system of letter-writing, induced many other English youths to follow his example by leaving their native land.

But the prosperity of Douay was rudely interrupted by the Dutch Calvinist party in 1578. The English students were expelled at a few hours' notice, and obliged to leave the country. They took refuge with their Principal, Dr. Allen, at Rheims, where the college was re-established under the protection of the Duke of Guise. Philip II.

ordered 1,000 florins to be paid annually to the college, and Gregory XIII. gave 500 gold crowns to meet the expense of the removal.

The following year Dr. Allen went to Rome for the third time, and, with the help of Pope Gregory, reorganized the English college at Rome, and made it an offshoot of Douay. Allen lived to see his seminary brought back to Douay, where for just 200 years it continued to be the chief place of education for the English Roman Catholic nobility and gentry, as well as the principal school for training English priests.

It was during this third visit to Rome that Allen made the unhappy mistake of throwing the cause of the English Romanists into the hands of the Jesuits. Three of the original associates of Ignatius Loyola were still living at Rome, and Allen seems to have made their acquaintance, and to have conceived a great admiration for the Society. The 'General' Everard Mercurianus was especially interested in English affairs, and had received Edmund Campion, of St. John's College, Oxford, as his first 'postulant.' Almost immediately on his arrival at Rome, Allen began to urge upon the Company of Jesus to undertake a mission to England. He fired their enthusiasm by holding up the example of Cuthbert Mayne and his other seminarists, who had won the crown

of martyrdom in England, and bade them go and do likewise.

In consequence of these exhortations, the two Jesuit fathers, Parsons and Campion, set out for England. Campion came disguised as a merchant and Parsons as a soldier, and both succeeded in landing on British soil. They were very different men. Campion was a true missionary hero, who, by the fervour of his deep personal piety and the fascination of his beautiful character, made many fresh converts to the Roman faith. He was no traitor, but died for his religious zeal upon the scaffold. Parsons was the restless plotter and schemer, ever going about sowing sedition against the Queen. They were the first Jesuits who set foot in England, and remain distinct types of the two classes of English Jesuits to the present day.

In 1585 Allen was compelled for reasons of health to give over the direction of the English seminary into other hands. From this time he took up his residence permanently at Rome, and gave himself up to politics and intrigue. Nothing is more remarkable or more sad than the contrast between his earlier and later life. At Douay and at Rheims he does not appear to have meddled with politics at all. The young students were not taught to refuse allegiance to Elizabeth, or to consider the question of the

Pope's power to excommunicate and depose Princes. But when Allen fell into the hands of the Jesuits all was changed, and his whole mind was set on furthering their political designs. To Allen they now owed another valuable recruit. The young and zealous John Gerard, son of Sir Thomas Gerard of Bryn, after three years' study at Rheims, and after having tasted an English prison, came to Rome in 1585. Allen at once saw how much there was in the youthful fanatic, and how valuable he would be as a helper to Parsons. Although he was below the canonical age, Allen procured for him a dispensation from the Pope, and after his ordination as Deacon caused him to be received as a novice by the Jesuits, and a few weeks afterwards sent him to England, where he became a powerful Roman Catholic missionary, and made many converts, especially in Norfolk and Suffolk.

Dr. Allen was now a partner with the unworthy Jesuit Parsons in all his plots to dethrone Elizabeth, and Parsons cunningly held out to Allen the promise of the Bishopric of Durham to stimulate his zeal in placing a Roman Catholic Sovereign on the throne. At first their hopes were set on Mary, Queen of Scots, and her son James ; and Allen was in frequent communication with Mary, and also with the Duke of Guise,

whom he urged to undertake an expedition to England to put James on the throne. But when James finally adopted the Protestant religion, Parsons and Allen gave up all idea of setting up the King of Scots, and became leaders of what was called 'The Spanish Party.'

They now declared that Philip of Spain was England's lawful Sovereign, and seeing that 'the pretended Queen' Elizabeth had been 'by public sentence of the Church and the Apostolic See declared an heretic and an enemy of God's Church, therefore every Christian soldier in the English army may and must break with his temporal Sovereign, and obey God and his spiritual Superior.' In a letter addressed 'To the English Persecutors,' Allen says (1585): 'If Kings have violated the faith given to God and the people of God, the people on their part are not only permitted but required, at the command of God's Vicar, who is surely the Supreme Pastor of all nations, to desist on their side from keeping faith with such Kings.'

Such was the creed and the teaching of these men, and it was actually carried into practice by their followers. In 1587 the fort of Deventer in Flanders was treacherously surrendered to the Spaniards by the English commandant, Sir William Stanley, and in the same year another fort near

Zutphen was again betrayed by an Englishman, Rowland York. Both these acts were defended and applauded by Allen. He even wrote a formal treatise in praise of what had been done, entitled 'A Defence of Sir William Stanley's Surrender of Deventer.'

Spain was now regarded as the great bulwark of Roman Catholicism in Europe, and Parsons wrote to Dr. Allen urging that an English college should be set up in Spain. Allen, without making any proper provision for their wants, at once sent three young English scholars—Henry Floyd, John Blackfan, and John Boswell—to Valladolid. They arrived almost penniless, and for a time were in great straits. Parsons, however, sent them supplies, and obtained for them an annual grant from the Spanish Government. Before a year had elapsed, they had erected a considerable college, containing about seventy English lads, many of whom had migrated from Allen's seminary at Rheims.

But larger schemes were now put forward by Allen and Parsons. In a joint memorandum they urged Philip to avenge the blood of Mary, Queen of Scots, and to himself seize the kingdom of England as its rightful Sovereign. King Philip, nothing loth and with the full consent of the Pope, began forthwith to plan a formidable, and,

as it was believed, an irresistible expedition for the conquest of England ; and that no time might be lost after the conquest in reconciling the nation to the Holy See, the King asked the Pope to create an English Cardinal, who should also have the See of Canterbury and be made Lord Chancellor, in order to repeat the work of Cardinal Pole. Accordingly, on August 7, 1587, Sixtus V. created Allen Cardinal-Priest of the Roman Church. The same day he wrote to Philip : 'This morning I have held a Consistory, and made Allen Cardinal to satisfy Your Majesty ; and though in proposing him I put forward a motive, which was very far from likely to excite suspicion, nevertheless it is reported that throughout all Rome there arose forthwith a universal cry, "Now they are getting things into order for a war with England," and this supposition was current everywhere. Therefore Your Majesty should not lose time, lest those poor Christians suffer greater injury ; for if there be delay, that which you have judged to be good will turn out evil.'

The creation of the new Cardinal was indeed a great surprise ; for it was contrary to the rule laid down by Sixtus himself that fresh creations should be made only at Advent. When the news was brought to Allen, he exclaimed : 'Under Heaven, Father Parsons has made me Cardinal !' Parsons

had, indeed, urged King Philip to ask for the hat for Allen, and had also made strong representations in Allen's favour to the Nuncio at Paris, and now he was not slow to demand payment for his services.

Allen understood already something of the Jesuit principles. If you are on the side of the Company, they will further your interests in a thousand secret ways ; but they will demand their price, which it is dangerous to refuse. In this case Cardinal Allen was constrained to put his name to a most disgraceful document called, 'An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland, concerning the Present Wars, made for the Execution of His Holiness's Sentence by the King Catholic of Spain'; and also to an abridgment of the same, called, 'A Declaration of the Sentence of Deposition of Elizabeth, the Usurper and Pretensed Queen of England.'

In these documents Elizabeth and her mother, Anne Boleyn, are described in terms too grossly offensive and abominable to be quoted in these pages ; but in a passage which is not too vile to be cited the people of England are told that the Pope had now determined 'to pursue the actual deprivation of Elizabeth, the pretended Queen, eftsoons declared and judicially sentenced by His Holiness's predecessors, Pius Quintus and Gregory XIII., for an heretic and usurper, and

the proper present cause of perdition of millions of souls at home, and the very bane of all Christian Kingdoms and States near about her'; and that 'those who adhered to her cause would be defending to their own present destruction and eternal shame a most unjust usurper and open injurer of all nations, an infamous, deprived, accursed, excommunicate heretic, the very shame of her sex and princely name, the chief spectacle of sin and abomination in this our age, and the only poison, calamity, and destruction of our noble Church and country.' It is hardly possible to believe that Cardinal Allen actually composed these atrocious documents, but it is sadly true that they were signed with his name, and put forth by his authority.

As has so often been the case, these Jesuitical machinations overreached themselves. The indignation in England was so great that even the Roman Catholics rallied as one man to the side of the Queen, and flew to the assistance of their country in the hour of its danger. The 'Invincible Armada' set sail, but was scattered by the winds of heaven as far as the remotest Orkneys, where even to the present day the descendants of the shipwrecked Spanish sailors are easily recognized among the natives of those islands. 'Afflavit יהוה et dissipati sunt' (The LORD blew

on them, and they were scattered) : such is the succinct and truthful record of that wonderful event as given on the commemorative medal.

This utter destruction of his private and public hopes seems to have affected Cardinal Allen very seriously. He saw how grievously he had been deceived by his Jesuit friends, and we may hope he felt, too, how grievously he had himself sinned against God. It is certain that his friendship for Parsons and the Jesuits greatly cooled after this event. King Philip tried to console him by offering him the Archbishopric of Mechlin ; but Cardinal Allen was a broken-hearted man. He accepted the far quieter post of Apostolic librarian, and spent his few remaining years in revising the Vulgate and translating the works of Augustine. He died at Rome on October 16, 1594, and was buried in the church of the English College.

We must not omit to mention that to Cardinal Allen is due the revised version of Gregory Martin's English translation of the Holy Scriptures. This revision, known as 'the Douay Bible,' forms the English Bible which is still in use among Roman Catholics. The New Testament was published at Rheims, while Allen was still President of the English College ; but the Old Testament was only published after his death, in 1609, at Douay.

CHAPTER XXI

CARDINAL PHILIP HOWARD (1675—1694)

AFTER the death of Cardinal Allen, nearly a century passed by before another Englishman was created Cardinal. PHILIP THOMAS HOWARD, a scion of the noble house of Norfolk, was born at Arundel House, London, on September 21, 1629. He was the third son of Henry Frederick Howard, afterwards third Earl of Arundel, by Elizabeth Stuart, eldest daughter of the Lord D'Aubigny, afterwards Duke of Richmond and Lennox.

Philip and his brothers were brought up as Roman Catholics, although some of their first tutors were Protestants, and the three brothers went together to St. John's College, Cambridge, entering as Fellow-Commoners. Philip was at that time only ten years of age, but was evidently of a very precocious mind. Their residence at Cambridge was but brief, for next year the three noble youths were sent to study at Utrecht and soon afterwards at Antwerp. Cambridge was no place then for Roman Catholic students.

At Antwerp, Philip, who was still a mere boy, expressed a strong desire to enter into 'religion,' and become a monk or friar. This was most displeasing to his grandfather, who, as second Earl of Arundel and head of the family, had embraced the Protestant faith, and joined the Church of England. Accordingly, the three brothers were sent from Antwerp in charge of a tutor to make the 'grand tour' through Germany, France, and Italy. At Milan they fell in with an Irish Dominican friar, named Hackett, who persuaded Philip, though still under sixteen years of age, to go with him to a Dominican convent at Cremona, and there assume the habit of the Order, and become 'Brother Thomas,' without the consent or knowledge of his parents.

When the news reached the ears of the old Earl, he was deeply moved, and requested Sir Kenelm Digby, who had just arrived at Rome, to appeal to the Pope, Innocent X. After an investigation conducted by the Propaganda and a stay of five months at La Chiesa Nuova, under the care of the Oratorian Fathers, Philip Howard, still persisting in his vocation, was examined by the Pope himself, and having satisfied His Holiness as to the sincerity of his purpose, he was allowed to make his solemn profession as a

Dominican friar on October 19, 1646, being just seventeen years of age. The vows were taken in the ancient basilican church of San Clemente, which was and is still used as the church of the Irish Dominicans at Rome. There is an interesting note in Evelyn's 'Diary' concerning this event, dated Easter Monday, 1646. He says: 'I was invited to breakfast at the Earl of Arundel's [at Padua]. I tooke leave of him in bed, where I left that greate and excellent man in teares on some private discourse of the crosses that had befallen his illustrious family, particularly the undutifulness of his grandson Philip turning Dominican friar.'

After a little while his relatives seemed to have become reconciled to the young man's evidently earnest resolution, and he was allowed to continue his studies at the Dominican convent at Naples, and afterwards at Rennes, in Brittany. At the age of twenty-two he was ordained priest by Papal dispensation, and, returning to England in 1655, he collected about £1,600 from his friends, with which to purchase a church and house at Bornheim, in East Flanders, to serve as a new English Dominican priory and college, of which he himself became the first Prior. To this he afterwards added a convent for women of the second Order of St. Dominic, over which his sister, Antonia

Howard, presided. This establishment was removed to Brussels in 1690.

On the death of Cromwell, Father Howard was sent by Charles II. on a secret mission to England, but was treacherously betrayed to Richard Cromwell, and with difficulty evaded capture, leaving England in the train of the Polish Ambassador, disguised as one of his servants. After a short further stay at Bornheim, he accompanied Charles to England at the Restoration, and took an active part in negotiating the King's marriage with Catharine of Braganza. The royal marriage was privately celebrated at Winchester, according to the Roman Catholic rite, on May 21, 1662. Father Howard was among the very few present at the ceremony.

Once more the Romanists indulged the hope of converting England. Howard, like Pole and Allen before him, lived for nothing else, and, like his predecessors, Howard dreamed of success. There was a Catholic Queen upon the throne, and Howard was himself installed in the palace as her first chaplain and Grand Almoner. The Mass was set up in Her Majesty's private chapel, and Howard, in all his young priestly fervour, offered the Holy Sacrifice day by day for the conversion of his native land. No priestly robe had been seen in the streets of London for many a long day, but

Howard obtained special permission to wear the *soutane* of a French Abbé, and had the courage to appear in public in his flowing robe. Howard was well supplied with money, and knew how to use it with a purpose. Evelyn in his 'Diary' tells us that on 'August 1st, 1662, Mr. H. Howard, his brothers Charles, Edward, Bernard, and Philip, now ye Queen's Almoner (all brothers of ye Duke of Norfolk still in Italy), came with a great traine and dined with me.' His charity was also large, and earned for him the title of 'the Common Father of the Poor.'

In January, 1667, Mr. Pepys visited the Grand Almoner in his State apartments at St. James's Palace, and that garrulous chronicler has given us a charming picture of the amiable royal chaplain. Thus he writes : 'I to St. James' to see the organ . . . and I took my Lord Bruncker with me, he being acquainted with my present Lord Almoner, Mr. Howard, brother of the Duke of Norfolk ; so he and I thither, and did see the organ, but I do not like it, it being a bauble, with a virginnall joining to it. Here we sat and talked with him [Mr. Howard] a good time ; here I observe the counterfeit windows there was, in the form of doors with looking-glasses, which makes the room seem both bigger and lighter, and I have some thoughts to have the like in one of my rooms.

He discoursed much of the goodness of the musique at Rome, and speaks much of the great buildings that this Pope [Alexander VII.], whom in mirth to us he calls Anti-Christ, hath done in his day.'

Then they took their leave ; but Lord Bruncker, seeing how much interest Mr. Pepys took in Papal matters, took him back to the Lord Almoner, who most kindly showed them 'the new monastery with most excellent pieces in wax-work : a crucifix given by Mary, Queen of Scots, where a piece of the Cross is, two bits in the manner of a cross in the foot of the crucifix : several fine pictures, but especially very good prints of holy pictures.' They then visited the dortoire and cells, and went into one and found the priest 'with his hair clothes to the skin and bare feet with sandals, and saw his little bed without sheets.' Next they saw the library and 'the refectoire, where every man had his napkin, knife, cup of earth, and basin of the same. Then to the kitchen, where a good neck of mutton was at the fire, and other victuals boiling.' 'I do not think,' says Mr. Pepys, 'they fared very hard : their windows all looking into a fine garden and the park, and mighty pretty rooms all. I wished myself one of the Capuchins. Having seen all we could here and all with mighty pleasure, so away with the Almoner in his coach,

talking merrily about the difference in our religions, to White Hall, and there we left him.'

Everything now seemed prosperous. The Queen had entire confidence in her Almoner, and was greatly guided by his advice. More than once she was the guest of the Lord Henry Howard at the Duke's palace at Norwich, and through the influence of her Almoner many other members of the Howard family were included in the royal household. Among others was the beautiful Dorothy Howard, maid of honour to the Queen. The Pope was so gratified at the progress of affairs, that in 1669 he determined to make Howard a Bishop *in partibus* and Vicar-Apostolic of all England. This office had been previously held by Dr. Richard Smith in 1555, though no successor had ever been appointed.

But clouds soon began to arise upon these bright prospects, and that from a very unexpected quarter. The old English Romanists had been so long left to themselves, that they had acquired a certain independence of thought. They did not wish that Rome should send them a master. They looked forward to electing their own Bishop, and, though they did not object to Howard personally, they protested against the appointment of any Vicar-Apostolic whatever. England has always been a puzzle to the Roman *Curia*. The Propa-

ganda thought they knew best, and, overruling all objections, the Pope issued briefs making Howard Bishop of Helenopolis and Vicar-Apostolic of England, and charging him not to recognize the Chapter of England by either word or deed.

When the news reached England the agitation was great, both among Roman Catholics and Protestants, against this act of Papal aggression. King Charles himself informed the Pope that his action was inopportune, and begged him to suspend the publication of the briefs. This was accordingly done. But it was too late. Popular feeling ran so high against Howard that he was obliged to flee from his country, and take refuge in his Flemish convent, nor did he ever again revisit England.

In 1675 Clement X., moved by the Dominican Father Hackett, created Howard a Cardinal-Priest. Accordingly, Howard went to Rome to receive the hat, and was accompanied thither by his uncle (Lord Stafford), his nephew (Lord Thomas Howard), and his secretary (Dr. Leyburn, President of the English College at Douay). From this time Cardinal Howard resided permanently at Rome, and was known as the Cardinal of Norfolk, or the Cardinal of England. Though furnished with ample means and a splendid palace, Cardinal Howard preferred to lead the life of a

simple friar in the convent of Santa Sabina, and only used his magnificent apartments for State and ceremonial occasions.

We must now notice the odious and utterly unfounded accusations brought against Cardinal Howard by the notorious Titus Oates and his accomplices. Nothing is more strange than the passion of religious fanaticism, which sometimes takes hold of a nation, and leads them to believe the most monstrous falsehoods fabricated by impostors. We have seen with astonishment the French people thus led astray in the Dreyfus case, but not less surprising was the way in which the populace of London, and even many of the educated classes in England, were imposed upon by the shameless allegations of Titus Oates and the even more infamous William Bedloe. These wicked false witnesses testified to Popish plots, which they asserted had been contrived by Queen Catherine in consort with her Almoner (Philip Howard), her secretary (Sir Richard Bellings), and others. It was alleged that Charles was to be poisoned, and the Popish religion restored under the Duke of York. The King himself, to his credit be it said, utterly refused to believe these absurd accusations. He personally examined Oates, and found that he was quite ignorant of the arrangements of the Queen's apartments,

where he pretended to have overheard the conversations in which the Queen and Cardinal were said to have compassed the King's death. Nevertheless, Lord Stafford and Edward Coleman, secretary to the Duchess of York, were executed for high treason. But though much correspondence had passed between Cardinal Howard and Coleman, Charles resolutely refused to entertain any accusation against either the Queen or the Cardinal. In order to show his complete confidence in Howard, the King requested Pope Innocent XI. to nominate him as Cardinal-Protector of England and Scotland, and Cardinal Howard now became the chief adviser of the Holy See in all English affairs, and was also the official Roman correspondent of the Roman Catholic party in England. To his efforts was due the establishment of a fund for the English secular clergy, and some handsome additions to the English College at Rome were the fruit of his munificence.

Once more, on the accession to the throne of the undoubted Papist James II., great hopes were raised at Rome of the conversion of England, and in 1687 four vicariates were created in England, over one of which Howard's secretary, Dr. Leyburn, was appointed. So high were Howard's expectations, that, on the birth of Prince James Edward (afterwards called the Old Pretender),

he gave a magnificent feast at Rome, at which an ox was roasted whole, stuffed with lambs and fowls and other provisions. The golden day seemed at hand. But James allowed himself to be entirely led, or rather misled, by his Jesuit advisers. Father Edward Petre was made Clerk of the Closet and head of the Chapel Royal, while Father Warner, an ex-Provincial, acted as the King's confessor. All was lost by the unwise and violent policy of these men by whom the King seemed absolutely bewitched. The 'Bloody Assize' of the infamous Judge Jeffreys did as much to revolt the conscience of England against Rome as did the fires of Smithfield under Queen Mary.

In vain Cardinal Howard, writing from Rome in the name of the Pope, counselled moderation and patience. His only reward was that through the machinations of the Jesuits at Rome he was removed from the charge of the English interests at the Vatican. The King implored the Pope to create Petre a Cardinal, or at least a Bishop ; but though Innocent XI. had given up Cardinal Howard, he was too wise to appoint Petre to be Cardinal of England in his place. The King was only able to make him Privy Councillor. Urged on by this clever but unscrupulous adviser, James hurried to his ruin. The arrest of the seven Bishops was the last step in his headlong course.

PLATE V.



Hercules sears the heads of the hydra (heresy).

"Lest, when conquered, they rise again."



PHILIP HOWARD, of the Holy Roman Church, Cardinal de Norfolk, under the title of S. Maria sopra Minerva.



"HENRY VIII., thrice King, Defender of the Faith, in the Church of England and Ireland, under Christ Supreme Head."

The spirit of the English nation was roused when it was seen to what lengths Jesuit influence would push the infatuated monarch. At last the great Revolution destroyed all the plots and schemes of the Company of Jesus, and the Jesuit Fathers, with the King, whom they had deceived, fled as exiles from the shores of England.

Cardinal Howard, like his predecessors Allen and Pole, died practically of a broken heart at seeing all his plans and hopes perish. His death took place at Rome, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, on June 17, 1694, and he was buried in his titular church of St. Maria sopra Minerva. A plain tomb of white marble, engraved with the Howard arms, marks the last resting-place of the 'Cardinal of Norfolk.' A somewhat remarkable, and now very rare, medal was struck in his honour. On the obverse is the bust of the 'Cardinal de Norfolk,' with long hair and wearing a skull-cap. On the reverse is seen Hercules with a lighted torch searing the heads of the Hydra, representing heresy, with the words *Ne victa resurgant* (that they may not, when conquered, rise again).

CHAPTER XXII

HENRY STUART (HENRY IX.), CARDINAL DUKE
OF YORK (1747—1807)

IN the middle of the north aisle of St. Peter's at Rome stands the somewhat theatrical monument of a handsome lady, with the inscription 'Clementina M., Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.' This lady was Clementina Sobieski, grand-daughter of John III., King of Poland, and wife of the Old Pretender, son of James II., and known at Rome as James III., King of England. In another part of St. Peter's is the beautiful monument by Canova, with its weeping genii, to the memory of the Pretender James himself and his two sons by Clementina, Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, and Henry, Dean of the Cardinals, the last of the royal House of Stuart.

HENRY BENEDICT MARIA CLEMENT was born at Rome in 1725. He was named Henry after eight English Kings; Benedict, in honour of Pope Benedict XIII., who baptized him; and Maria Clement after his Polish mother.

As a youth his gentle, graceful manners and unfailing courtesy made him a great favourite in Roman society. The two English Stuart Princes were singularly alike, and were the ornaments of every fashionable gathering.

When 'bonnie Prince Charlie' made his disastrous expedition to Scotland in 1745, Henry journeyed to France and joined the troops at Dunkirk with the intention of leading a Franco-Jacobite army to England. But the decisive defeat at Culloden destroyed all hope of success, and then the two royal youths took widely different paths: Charles Edward became dissipated, reckless, and eventually a slave to drink; whereas Henry, renouncing all worldly aims, entered upon an ecclesiastical career, and was remarkable for the purity of his morals and the gentle amiability of his character.

It was on June 30, 1747, that Henry, Duke of York, received the tonsure from the Sovereign Pontiff himself in the Sistine Chapel, in the presence of his father, 'King James III.,' and his phantom Jacobite Court. Four days later, though still a layman and only twenty-two years of age, Henry received the red hat from the Pope Benedict XIV., and six days afterwards, by the ceremony of the opening and shutting of the mouth, became a full Cardinal. On account of his

royal birth the new Cardinal had the right to wear ermine on his scarlet mozetta, and took precedence immediately after the Dean of the Sacred College.

When Charles Edward, who was still in France, heard the news, he was filled with rage, not only with his brother, but also with his father, who had given Henry permission to enter 'religion.' Charles, who was the most astute of the family, saw clearly that this step gave the final blow to the Stuart hopes. Culloden might be retrieved, but Protestant England would never receive a Cardinal or a Cardinal's brother as King. The two brothers did not meet again for eighteen years.

Meanwhile Henry resolved to enter the priesthood and take the sacerdotal vow of celibacy. In the space of a month he passed through all the minor orders, and was ordained priest by the Holy Father in the Sistine Chapel, and the next day said his first Mass in the private chapel of the Stuart Palace, and administered Holy Communion to his father and the members of his Court.

Cardinal Stuart now held several Roman preferments. A splendid gold chalice encrusted with jewels is still to be seen among the treasures of St. Peter's, and marks his office as Archpriest and Prefect of the Fabric. The Kings of France and Spain conferred upon him valuable benefices *in commendam*, so that he became the wealthiest

Churchman in Italy. He was also appointed by Benedict XIV. to be Vice-Chancellor of the Holy See and Cardinal Camerlengo.

On the death of Benedict, Cardinal Stuart acted as chief Regent, and took an important part in the election of Clement XIII., who, shortly after his accession, nominated the Cardinal titular Archbishop of Corinth, and himself gave him episcopal consecration in the Church of the Holy Apostles. Finally, in 1761, Cardinal Stuart was created Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum (Frascati), and there took up his permanent residence in his beautiful villa Muti Savorelli. At his enthronement his father occupied a royal throne in the cathedral as 'King of Great Britain and Ireland.'

During his long episcopate the Cardinal Duke exercised a splendid hospitality, and his great liberality endeared him to all classes. The episcopal palace of Frascati was almost rebuilt by him, and the cathedral was also improved and adorned, but the Seminary or Ecclesiastical College was the special object of his care. Most of it was built by him, and its famous collection of art treasures and books, especially those of English writers, is due to his munificence. His zeal as pastor of his flock, combined with his own pure religious life, caused him to be revered and loved by all. On the death of Clement XIII., the Cardinal Duke again presided as Vice-

Chancellor, and issued coins during the vacancy of the Holy See bearing the arms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, surmounted by a Cardinal's hat over a ducal coronet. On the reverse we read: 'Henricus Cardinalis Dux Ebor. S.R.E. Vice-Cancellarius. Sede vacan. 1769.'

In the night of New Year's Day, 1766, James died at Rome in the seventy-eighth year of his age. He was attended on his death-bed by the Cardinal, who ministered to him both as son and priest, and took part in his funeral, which was conducted with royal honours. Then for the first and last time Cardinal Stuart entered into the field of politics, and used his utmost endeavours to induce the Pope to recognize his brother as King Charles III. But the hopeless character of the once amiable and gifted Charles Edward made every effort useless. In the words of the Cardinal, 'that nasty bottle ruined everything.' Charles Edward retired to Florence, and there dragged out a miserable and ignominious existence till his death in 1788. The Cardinal, sorely grieved at his brother's intemperance, composed a treatise, for distribution in his diocese, upon *The Sins of Intemperance*. It has been recently translated into English and reprinted.

Henry was now the last of the Stuarts, and at once assumed the title of Henry IX. His usual signature was 'Enrico R. Cardinale.' He



PRINCE HENRY STUART.
"The next after him."



“Not by the wish of men, but by the will of God.”

caused a medal to be issued bearing the inscription 'Henry IX., King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum.' On the reverse a figure symbolical of Religion looks sadly on the British crown and the Cardinal's hat lying on the ground. In the distance is seen the Vatican and the Tusculan hills. The legend has these touching words: 'Not by the Wish of Men, but by the Will of God.' At the same time a gold piece was coined, bearing the figure of St. Michael, to be used in touching for the King's Evil. This singular rite was never practised by the Hanoverian Kings, though Queen Anne occasionally used it, but was always kept up and believed in by the Stuarts. The Cardinal Duke of York was the last person who touched with gold.

Still, Henry did not urge his claims offensively; but when Pius VI. formally acknowledged George III. as King of England, he wrote a pathetic but dignified letter of remonstrance to the Pope, which may be considered as the last manifesto of the royal Stuarts in favour of their claims to the English crown.

Dark days were now at hand, which brought together in a strange fashion the titular and *de jure* King of England with the *de facto* Sovereign of Great Britain. In 1789 the French Revolution burst forth, and soon appalled the world by the

execution of Louis XVI. The Papal Government now sought the protection of England. But Buonaparte, crossing the Alps, seized Bologna, and forced the Pope to make an ignominious peace by paying an indemnity of £1,500,000. Soon afterwards a fresh disturbance at Rome, in which some French soldiers were concerned, was made the excuse for extracting £1,200,000 more from the helpless Pontiff. The Cardinal Duke came forward and surrendered his most costly treasures to buy off the French. These included the golden shield of King John of Poland, the great ruby of Poland, and other historic treasures of great value. But the respite thus gained was of short duration. In 1798 the French troops finally occupied Rome, and carried off the Pope as prisoner. The Cardinal fled for his life from Frascati, where the ungrateful populace, intoxicated by the spirit of the Revolution, sacked his beautiful villa. Having reached Naples, he escaped in a small coasting vessel, and after a voyage of several days of misery and privation reached Sicily, where he lived for some time with other Cardinals in great poverty.

At length matters settled down, and it was possible, on the death of Pius VI. at Valence, to hold a Conclave for the election of a new Pope at Venice. Again, for the third time, the Cardinal Duke presided, and took a leading part in the election of Pius VII. ; but all his estates and

revenues were gone, and after living for some time on the sale of his silver plate, Henry was constrained to allow his friends to appeal for pecuniary help to the British Government.

This was promptly granted, and henceforth the royal Stuart was the pensioner of the Guelph King George III. All pretension to the English crown was now abandoned, and the Duke of Sussex, on his frequent visits to Rome, constantly visited his aged 'Cousin,' whom he addressed as Royal Highness. The Cardinal Duke lived on at Frascati in peace and comfort till July 13, 1807, when he died in the eighty-third year of his age. He was buried with due state in the crypt of St. Peter's, where stand the three sepulchral urns bearing the empty titles of James III., Charles III., and Henry IX.

It is pleasant to add that in his will the Cardinal Duke of York expressed his desire that any object of historic value found among his possessions should be offered to the Prince Regent (George IV.) in token of his gratitude. In accordance with this wish, the Cross of St. Andrew, set in diamonds, once worn by Charles I., with the Coronation ring, containing a ruby which had formed part of the Scottish regalia, and also a splendid sapphire, now placed in the crown of England, were given to, and accepted by, the Prince Regent.

CHAPTER XXIII

CARDINAL THOMAS WELD (1830—1837), AND
CARDINAL CHARLES JANUARIUS ACTON
(1842—1847)

DURING the eighteenth century the Roman Catholic Church was at its lowest ebb. The Papacy had lost almost all influence, and had sunk to the level of a third-rate power. England was left alone, disregarded by the Holy See, and looked upon as hopelessly heretical. The few English Romanist families lived a life apart, and made no impression whatever on English society.

Early in the nineteenth century a wonderful revival took place. The Papacy, to the astonishment of all, recovered from its deadly wound, and began to exercise fresh influence and to put forth new powers. The mind of the Vatican now turned again to the hope of restoring the Roman Catholic Church in England. But with the marvellous prudence which characterizes the Papacy, each step was taken with due deliberation and much patient waiting for the right moment.

In 1815, Cardinal Consalvi, the first Cardinal

who had set foot on our shores since the death of Cardinal Pole in 1558, arrived in London to take part in the settlement of Europe after the final defeat of Napoleon. He was received with great favour by the Prince Regent, who treated him with all possible respect, so that Consalvi returned to Rome greatly impressed by the changed attitude of England to the Papacy. The next step was the restoration of the English College at Rome, which had been closed for over twenty years, to its original purpose as a training-school for English priests. This was effected by Pius VII. at the suggestion of Consalvi. Nicholas Wiseman was one of the first students.

The succeeding Pope, Leo XII., had it greatly in mind to restore the English cardinalate, which had so long been dormant. Leo had been a Benedictine, and it was therefore in accordance with Papal etiquette that the first Cardinal created by him should belong to that order. His choice fell on Dr. Baines, Bishop of Siga, and coadjutor of the English western district. He had a great reputation at Rome as an eloquent and earnest preacher, but declined the proffered honour on grounds of health.

The name of Dr. Lingard, the famous Roman Catholic historian of England, now came prominently forward. In one of his consistories Leo XII. informed the Cardinals that he had

created as a new member of the Sacred College 'a man of great talents, an accomplished scholar, whose writings, drawn from authentic sources, had not only rendered great service to religion, but had delighted and astonished Europe,' but whose name he at present reserved *in pectore*. This was generally held to refer to Dr. Lingard, and some have even in consequence reckoned Lingard as a Cardinal ; but Leo died with the secret still locked 'within his breast.'

It was reserved for the next Pope, Pius VIII., to renew the English cardinalate in the person of THOMAS WELD.

The new Cardinal was the eldest son of Thomas Weld, Esq., of Lulworth Castle, Dorset. He was born in London in 1773, and was descended on his mother's as well as on his father's side from the old Roman Catholic families of England. At an early age Thomas Weld, junior, succeeded to the family estates, and carried out his father's wishes by succouring the French nuns who were exiled at the great Revolution. He soon married, and had one only daughter, who was afterwards Lady Clifford. Few persons could have been deemed more unlikely to receive the Cardinal's hat than this wealthy Dorsetshire squire, who had not unfrequently entertained his Sovereign, George III. at Lulworth Castle.

But in 1815 Mrs. Weld died, and her heart-broken husband resigned the family estates to his next brother, and, reserving to himself only a moderate pension, was ordained priest by the Archbishop of Paris in 1821. Returning to England, he worked as a humble curate, first in the Chelsea and then in the Hammersmith Mission. In 1826 Father Weld was consecrated Bishop of Amycla *in partibus*, with the view of acting as coadjutor in Upper Canada. But unforeseen circumstances changed his plans, and he removed to Rome with Lord and Lady Clifford, as the precarious health of his daughter required a change to a warmer climate.

Soon after his arrival at Rome, Bishop Weld, to his own great surprise, was named Cardinal of St. Marcellus by Pope Pius VIII. on March 25, 1830. The nomination was received with the greatest satisfaction by all parties. An exalted personage of the English Royal Family wrote a letter of congratulation to the new Cardinal, and assured him of a warm welcome if he was ever led to visit England.

Cardinal Weld, however, fixed his residence at Rome, and in the splendid apartments of the Odeschalchi Palace received all that was illustrious in Roman society. He was hospitable and generous almost to a fault. Multitudes of his

own countrymen sought his assistance, and seldom sought in vain. Yet he lived a comparatively retired life, and never used his influence aggressively for proselytizing those whom he helped.

The Roman climate, however, proved fatal to one brought up among the breezy moors of the Dorsetshire hills. Consumption set in, and Cardinal Weld died in 1837, regretted not only by his own countrymen, but by the poor of Rome, to whom he had ever been a noble benefactor. He was buried in the Church of Sta Maria in Aquiro, where a beautiful monument is placed to his memory.

CHARLES JANUARIUS EDWARD ACTON, the next English Cardinal, was born at Naples in 1803. His father, Sir John Francis Edward Acton, had long been resident at Naples, and for some years had acted as Prime Minister, and on the birth of his son, gave him the strange and un-English name of Januarius. This Neapolitan saint is the Patron of the fishermen of Naples, whose blood is kept in a vial, and is liquefied every year by a standing miracle, but who is hardly known beyond Neapolitan territory. In 1811 Sir John Acton died, and the young Charles was brought to England. His whole education at Isleworth, then at Westminster School, and later with the Rev.

Mr. Jones as private tutor, was entirely in the hands of Protestants, but he remained constant to the Roman religion. He proceeded to Magdalene College, Cambridge, where he resided for some time as an undergraduate, but was unable to take his degree on account of his religious opinions.

In 1823 Acton came to Rome, and entered the Academy of Noble Ecclesiastics, destined for the pontifical public service. While there his great proficiency attracted the attention of Leo XII., who named him a Domestic Prelate, and sent him as Attaché to the Nunciature at Paris. Pius VIII. recalled him to Rome, and appointed him Vice-Legate of Bologna, and finally Gregory XVI. made him Assistant-Judge at Rome, for at that time every public office at Rome was filled by an ecclesiastic, frequently with disastrous results ; but in this case the soundness of his judgment and his legal knowledge made Monsignor Acton acceptable to both the Bar and the suitors.

At the age of thirty-three Mgr. Acton, to his own surprise and dismay, was appointed Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber, or Chief Judge of the Civil Courts. It was probably the first time that such a post had been offered to an Englishman. At first Acton declined to accept the appointment, but he was obliged to yield to the Pope's wishes. This office is considered as necessarily leading to

the Sacred College, so that when Cardinal Weld died it was looked upon as a foregone conclusion that Acton would succeed him.

On the death of his elder brother Mgr. Acton returned to England, and, like Cardinal Weld before him, settled his family affairs in a generous fashion, and went back to Rome to reside permanently in the Holy City. He was created Cardinal on January 24, 1842, and made Protector of the English College; but his health soon began to decline, and he took but little further part in public affairs.

On the occasion of the visit of the Emperor Nicholas of Russia, Cardinal Acton was chosen as the Pope's interpreter, and alone was present at the memorable interview between the Emperor and the Pope which took place at the Vatican in December, 1845. The particulars of what took place were never allowed to transpire, but Gregory said afterwards of the Emperor: 'I said to him all that the Holy Ghost dictated to me.' It is certain that from that time Nicholas governed his Roman Catholic subjects with a much milder rule. Cardinal Acton never revealed what he then heard. He only said that after he had interpreted the Pope's first sentence, the Emperor turned to him and said: 'It will be agreeable to me if your Eminence will act as my interpreter also.'

Soon after this the King of Naples came to Rome to seek a worthy Archbishop for his metropolitan see. He pressed Cardinal Acton to accept the preferment, but he positively refused. About this time (1846) the question of the re-establishment of the hierarchy in England began to be mooted. Cardinal Acton, who inherited the old English Roman Catholic traditions, was much opposed to the idea. It was probably due to his influence that the project was postponed to a more convenient season.

The last year of Cardinal Acton's life was spent at Naples in the vain endeavour to regain his health in the city of his birth. His charities were so unbounded, that he reduced himself to comparative poverty. He was of a humble and benevolent disposition, and, like his predecessor, never engaged in any active proselytism. He died at the Jesuit Convent at Naples on June 23, 1847. His nephew, who became the first Lord Acton, was a great friend of Gladstone, and was Professor of Modern History at Cambridge and a writer of no mean repute.

CHAPTER XXIV

CARDINAL NICHOLAS WISEMAN (1850—1865)

PAPAL aggression in England had long been in the air, but the amiable, high-born gentlemen who had been created English Cardinals during the early part of the nineteenth century were not the men to attempt it. Cardinal Acton, as we have seen, distinctly discouraged the idea of setting up the Roman Hierarchy in England. But while Cardinals Weld and Acton were dispensing princely hospitality in their Roman palaces a very different personage was rising into notice, who was destined to bring about a momentous change in the relations of Rome with England.

NICHOLAS PATRICK STEPHEN WISEMAN was born at Seville of Irish parents, who had settled in Spain. While still an infant, his mother laid him on one of the altars in Seville Cathedral, and solemnly dedicated him to the service of the Church. On the early death of his father, the widow, with her sons, returned to Ireland, and when old enough the boys went to St. Cuthbert's College at Ushaw, near Durham. At the age of sixteen, Nicholas

Wiseman was sent to Rome in company with five other youths, to form the first band of students at the newly opened English College, which was rescued from the Jesuits by the tact and zeal of the eminent historian Dr. Lingard, by whose exertions the College was restored to its original purpose of training English youths as secular priests of the Roman Church in England.

In his 'Recollections of the Last Four Popes,' Wiseman gives us a charmingly written but very roseate account of his long residence in the English College, and the delightful summer holidays spent in the country house attached to the College in a Tusculan village, where he loved to trace the memories of the good Cardinal-Duke still fragrant in the minds of the peasants in the Tusculan Diocese. The 'Recollections,' which refer to Pius VII., Leo XII., Pius VIII., and Gregory XVI., are most graphically written and are full of pleasant anecdote. They, however, give us a very one-sided view of the state of Rome and Italy during the period of reaction under the four Pontiffs. Wiseman was endued with a powerful imagination, and also had the happy gift of an extraordinary optimism, which led him to see things at Rome not as they really were, but as his fancy suggested they should be. He was fascinated by the great Pontifical ceremonies, in

which the students took a humble part, and especially by the splendid Jubilee of Leo XII. in 1825. He had very kindly personal relations with each of the four Popes, and was completely dominated by 'the glamour of Rome.'

In 1826 Wiseman, having completed his studies, was made Vice-Rector of the English College ; and two years later, when the Rector, Dr. Gradwell, was made Bishop, he succeeded to the vacant headship. As the College was at that time a sort of agency for English Romanists, Wiseman was brought into close contact with the Vatican, and acquired a large knowledge of men and affairs in England.

About this time Leo XII. determined to set apart the Church of Gesù e Maria in the Corso for the use of the English at Rome. He lent a detachment of the Papal choir, and did all that he could to make the services attractive to visitors by appointing Wiseman as special preacher of English sermons every Sunday. These sermons were a great success, and Wiseman soon gained a great reputation as an eloquent and impressive preacher and speaker. His lectures were even more remarkable than his sermons. The first were given in the grand reception rooms of Cardinal Weld in the Odeschalchi Palace, and were largely attended by fashionable people. As Wiseman

grew in fame, he was consulted on religious matters by many Anglicans who visited Rome. Among these were John Henry Newman and Anthony Froude, who sought his advice as early as 1833. Although not himself a convert, Wiseman always had a very special sympathy for those who joined the Roman Church.

In 1835 Wiseman went to London for a year, and took charge of the chapel attached to the Sardinian Embassy. Again he delivered some striking 'Lectures on the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church.' They were given both at the Sardinian Chapel and at St. Mary's, Moorfields, and excited very great attention both in England and America. Newman testified to the very great impression made by them, and Canon Liddon spoke of the lecturer as 'a divine whose accomplishments and ability would have secured him influence and prominence in any age of the Roman Church,' and said that 'the reanimation of the Roman Church in England was quickened in no small degree' by the arrival of Wiseman in London. Wiseman also founded at this time the *Dublin Review*, one of the ablest and most moderate of all Roman publications. The beautiful tale of 'Fabiola,' published in 1857, shows how much Wiseman might have accomplished in the field of literature. In it various

legends and traditions, many of which rest on most slender evidence, were skilfully woven together to support the Papal claims. It is a romance, not only in form, but in essence, yet deserves recognition as a work of art.

In 1840 Wiseman was consecrated Bishop *in partibus*, and took up his residence permanently in England. The Oxford Movement was now in full progress, and Wiseman by his articles in the *Dublin Review* and his published letters to Newman and others urged the Tractarians, as they were called, to consider their ambiguous and illogical position in the Church of England, and come over to Rome. He dealt boldly with the Protestant principle that 'whatever is not in the Bible is not of God's truth,' and pleaded on behalf of a 'natural growth' by the guidance of the Holy Spirit, much in the same way as Newman did afterwards in his 'Essay on Development.' There can be no doubt that in this way he was an active agent in deciding many who 'went over' in the early days of Puseyism.

In the year 1849 Wiseman was named Vicar Apostolic of the London district, and was received by Lord Palmerston as the accredited Envoy of Pius IX. He now carefully prepared the way for that master stroke, which had long been in contemplation, of restoring the Roman Hierarchy in

England, and by its means welding together the old Conservative Catholics with the aggressive converts into one solid ecclesiastical body. On August 6, 1850, Wiseman was summoned to Rome, and there learnt that his great scheme was to be consummated forthwith. On September 29 a Papal Brief appointed Wiseman to be first Archbishop of Westminster, and the following day he was created Cardinal. Then came the famous Pastoral Letter of the new Cardinal Archbishop. It was dated October 7, 1850, 'given out of the Flaminian Gate at Rome.' It was to be read in all Roman chapels in the London district, but was really addressed to the English nation. It announced the division of England into Roman dioceses, and concluded: 'Your beloved country has received a place among the beautiful Churches, which, properly constituted, form the splendid aggregate of Catholic Communion; Catholic England has been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastic firmament, from which its light had long been missing; and now begins anew its course of regular action round the centre of unity, the source of jurisdiction, of light, and of vigour.'

By this amazing announcement the whole country was plunged into a frenzy of indignation. The anti-Roman agitation was comparable to that which obtained at the discovery of the Gunpowder

Plot, the Popish Plot of Titus Oates, and the 'No Popery' Gordon riots. The *Times* called it 'one of the grossest acts of folly and impertinence that the Court of Rome has ventured to commit, since the Crown and People of England threw off its yoke.' The Lord Chancellor at the Lord Mayor's banquet quoted Gloster's words :

'Under our feet we'll stamp thy Cardinal's hat,
In spite of Pope and dignities of Church.'

Parliament next year joined in the popular cry of 'No Popery,' and passed the utterly futile Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, by which Roman Catholics were forbidden to assume the title of territorial Bishop under penalty of £100 fine. The Bill was never once put in motion, and was repealed in 1872. The outburst of feeling was too acute to last, and died down as suddenly as it arose. Cardinal Wiseman took no notice of the Act, and proceeded as if it were non-existent.

The return of the Cardinal-Archbishop to England was marked everywhere by circumstances of pomp. At Siena he was entertained by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, at Venice he was welcomed by the Patriarch, at Vienna the Austrian Emperor did him honour, and at Cologne the Archbishop received him as a brother. Wiseman was the first Cardinal who resided in England since the days of Cardinal Pole, and much was

both hoped and feared from the new state of things. But neither hopes nor fears were realized, and the influence of the Cardinal in England was not great.

Soon after his arrival in England Cardinal Wiseman held at Oscott the first Provincial Synod of the restored Church. It was on this occasion that Newman preached his famous sermon on the 'Second Spring,' in which he spoke of the purple of the Roman Cardinal as 'the royal dye of Empire and of martyrdom.'

All, however, was not smooth and easy for the new Archbishop. He was to meet with disappointment where he most looked for help. As soon as he was installed in his archiepiscopal throne, Cardinal Wiseman began to feel deeply the lack of earnest priests and suitable men to deal with the masses around. He fixed his hopes on the religious Orders, and invited in quick succession the Jesuits, the Redemptorists, the Passionists, the Marists, and the Oratorians; but when he turned to them for help to conduct missions and preach to the poor, and seek out the Irish Romanists who were lost among the masses, they one and all began to make excuse: 'It was not in accordance with their Rule.' Of these five great Orders, not one of them, he writes, can, or will, undertake the work. 'Souls are perishing around them, but

they are prevented by their Rules, given by Saints, from helping to save them. But what makes it to me more bitter still, from *them* comes the cry, that in London nothing is being done for the poor.' It was with a cry of anguish that Cardinal Wiseman wrote thus to Father Faber, appealing to him for help from his large number of Oratorian priests ; but he appealed in vain. It was against the Oratorian Rule to conduct missions among the poor. Meanwhile Manning was at Rome, and acting under Wiseman's direction he obtained the Papal sanction for founding a new Community of Oblates of St. Charles to deal with this pressing need. But even this Community, with Father Manning as Superior, was persecuted from without and rent with divisions within, though it accomplished a certain measure of work by establishing some fairly successful schools for the education of the poorer classes of Romanists in London.

This was not the whole of the Cardinal's trials. The Chapter of Westminster consisted of old, grave, ultra-Conservative Canons. They did not like the new active aggressive methods of the Archbishop, and were a continual thorn in his side, sending constant complaints to Rome of the Cardinal's unnecessary strictness and activity. Wiseman now began to fail in health under dis-

appointment and opposition, and in an unhappy moment, by his own express desire, obtained a coadjutor Bishop with right of succession. The coadjutor appointed by Rome was Dr. Errington, a man of iron will, and a thorough man of business, whereas the Archbishop had been far too lax in the administration of the trust funds of the diocese. The two men disagreed on almost every point, and the camp of the London Romanists was for years divided into rival—it might be almost termed hostile—factions. Manning and Talbot, and most of the converts, supported Wiseman, while the majority of the Chapter and the old English Romanists were on the side of Dr. Errington. It is not necessary to repeat here the miserable story of the petty jealousies and bitter strife which utterly destroyed the bright prospects with which Cardinal Wiseman began his work. They are related in painful detail in Purcell's 'Life of Cardinal Manning.'

As was the case of many before him, Wiseman became more and more disillusioned, saddened, and almost broken-hearted. Ill and lonely, he writes on October 17, 1863, from Broadstairs: 'I must bear my cross as it has been shaped for me; but only God knows what I suffer inwardly.' The remainder of his life was one continual worry as to the right of succession.

On February 15, 1865, Cardinal Wiseman died. By his express wish Manning preached his funeral sermon, a task which he fulfilled with great tact and delicacy. The remains were conveyed to Kensal Green through a respectful throng, who had come in their thousands to witness the first Roman Catholic state funeral which had been seen in London for several centuries. They have now found a last resting-place in the cathedral at Westminster.

CHAPTER XXV

CARDINAL HENRY EDWARD MANNING
(1875—1892)

HARDLY had the funeral rites been performed for Cardinal Wiseman than a fierce struggle began as to his successor in the archbishopric. The Pope had already declared that if the Chapter of Westminster placed Dr. Errington's name on the *terna*, or list of three persons recommended to fill the vacancy, he would regard it as a personal insult. Nevertheless, the Chapter did recommend Errington in the very first place, and two of his principal supporters as second and third. Pius IX., on reading the list, tore the paper to pieces, and, to the surprise of most, nominated Mgr. Manning to the vacant post. In acting thus the Pope believed that he was obeying an inward inspiration, which seemed to say of Manning, 'Mettetelo li' (Place him there).

HENRY EDWARD MANNING was the son of a London banker and M.P., and was born in 1808. He had a brilliant career at Oxford, and among his early friends were W. E. Gladstone and

Robert Hope Scott. As President of the Union Debating Society he proved a very ready and effective speaker, giving promise of a distinguished Parliamentary career ; but the loss of his father's fortune compelled him after taking his degree to seek a humble appointment in the Colonial Office.

At Oxford Manning had formed a friendship with R. C. L. Bevan, of Trent Park, and he was now introduced to the family circle, which included Miss Favell Lee Bevan, afterwards Mrs. Mortimer, the well known and gifted authoress of 'The Peep of Day,' 'Line upon Line,' etc. The influence of this truly evangelical family upon the Oxford scholar was very great. Miss Bevan in particular acquired a wonderful ascendancy over his mind, and he afterwards called her his 'spiritual mother,' and dated his conversion to God from the time when he frequented the house at Trent Park. But Miss Bevan's acute insight into character was not wholly misled by Manning's attractive candour and religious earnestness. She saw even in those early days 'the pride of virtue' predominating. 'His chief failing is excessive ambition.' Yet she wrote : 'I think a work of grace is going on in his heart. He is deeply convinced of the vanity of the world and the sinfulness of sin. If he do but pray, he must prosper. He looks poorly, and is not happy.'

By Miss Bevan's advice Manning left the Colonial Office, and went back to Oxford to read for a fellowship. He even asked Miss Bevan to write his character, which she did. For some time longer they continued to write to each other, chiefly on religious subjects. But though Miss Bevan was six years senior to Manning, the letters which passed were evidently leading to an attachment on both sides, when Mrs. Bevan intervened, and by the mother's desire all further correspondence ceased. Fifteen years later Manning wrote to Mrs. Mortimer, and requested the return of all his letters, offering to send hers in exchange. Not a single letter on either side escaped the flames. At Manning's desire Mrs. Mortimer had a final interview with him, not for controversy, or to revive old feelings, but that he might express his gratitude to her. His parting words were: 'You little know how much I owe you.' It is useless to speculate on 'what might have been,' if Manning had married the authoress of 'The Peep of Day.' It is safe to say that much modern Church history would have been changed.

On his return to Oxford, Manning soon obtained at Merton College the fellowship which he was seeking, and at once took Holy Orders, and became the curate of the Rev. John Sargent, the evangelical Rector of Woolavington, Sussex.

The next year, on the death of Mr. Sargent, Manning was appointed Rector in succession, and soon afterwards married one of the late Rector's daughters. After four years of happy marriage Mrs. Manning died of consumption, without leaving any children. The early death of that lady made the future career of Cardinal Manning possible.

In 1840 Manning was made Archdeacon of Chichester, and henceforth took an active and prominent part in Church life. He was popular as a preacher, and was almost the only man, except Newman, who could fill St. Mary's, Oxford, on a week-day. He usually took a strong Anglican, and sometimes even Protestant, position, as in his celebrated sermon preached at Oxford on Guy Fawkes Day, 1843.

After Newman's secession, Manning became one of the most trusted leaders of the extreme High Church party, and when the decision of the Privy Council in the famous Gorham case declared that a belief in baptismal regeneration was not a necessary doctrine of the Church of England, Manning was foremost among the protesters. It was to him a terrible thing that a lay court should decide at all upon the doctrines of the Church, and still more that it should have decided against one of the most cherished views

of his party. From that time he became convinced that the Church of England was no true branch of the Church Catholic. When Newman seceded, Manning had written: 'His whole course is fearful to me, and though I seem to feel a clear and undoubting conviction that he has by some mysterious inclination swerved from the truth, his course has about it a strange fascination.' These words contain the key of the conduct of Newman, Manning, and many others. They are not led by the Word of God, but by a 'mysterious inclination' or a 'strange fascination.'

Many of his best friends, and especially Mr. Gladstone, tried to convince Manning that it was his duty to remain where he was. All was in vain. Manning resigned his archdeaconry and his living, and after a short period, which he himself described as a 'martyrdom,' entered into that delusive calm which awaits Rome's converts, and which is generally succeeded sooner or later by an awful disillusionment. Henceforth Mr. Gladstone, in bitter disappointment, parted with the man who had been his most trusted friend and adviser in religious and ecclesiastical matters. 'When Manning became a Catholic, our friendship died a natural death.'

Manning was received into the Roman Catholic Church on Passion Sunday, 1851. On the follow-

ing Sunday the minor Orders were conferred upon him, and ten weeks later he was ordained priest by Cardinal Wiseman in his private chapel. Wiseman welcomed Manning as 'the first-fruits of the restoration of the hierarchy by our Holy Father, Pius IX.' He bade him go forth and bring his fellow-countrymen into the fold by thousands and tens of thousands. He hoped to see the day when High Mass would be sung in Westminster Abbey in honour of the reconciliation of England to the Holy See.

As soon as autumn arrived, Manning went to Rome. In his company was the Hon. Mgr. Talbot, one of the Malahide family, who was himself a recent convert, and henceforth became Manning's firm ally and supporter. For three successive seasons Manning studied in the Roman Academia for noble ecclesiastics. There he was in constant touch with Pius IX. and the leading Cardinals, and drank in to the full the spirit and *ἡθος* of the Papal system.

At Cardinal Wiseman's urgent request, and by permission of the Pope, Manning founded in London a community of secular priests called the Congregation of the Oblates of St. Charles Borromeo, and with these he engaged in work in the slums of Westminster. From time to time he visited Rome, and in due course was appointed

Domestic Prelate to the Pope with the title of Monsignore, and was made Provost of the Chapter of Westminster. During these years Manning was entirely on the side of Cardinal Wiseman in his painful struggles with the more liberal section of English Romanists under the leadership of Archbishop Errington.

On the death of Cardinal Wiseman (1865), the Pope, as we have seen, appointed Manning as Archbishop of Westminster. The details of his administration have been so fully and so recently described in Purcell's remarkable biography, that it seems unnecessary to repeat them here. Archbishop Manning was essentially Ultramontane. He was bitterly opposed to all Liberalism in religion, as represented by Lord Acton and Newman, and hoped to resist the inroads of modern free thought by enforcing a blind and entire submission to all Papal commands and wishes, while he himself in the Pope's name ruled despotically over the Roman Church in England.

With this aim in view he managed to suppress the *Rambler*, to which Newman and Lord Acton were frequent contributors. He disapproved of Roman Catholics going to study at Oxford or Cambridge. He set up a Roman College in Kensington under Mgr. Capel, which on many accounts, moral as well as intellectual,

proved a dead failure, and did much to alienate the leading Roman Catholic noblemen from the Archbishop.

In one matter only did Manning differ from the Ultramontane party. Although he had been received in the Jesuit Church in Farm Street, and was at first on most friendly terms with the Jesuit Fathers, and occupied a confessional in their church, yet soon after his appointment as Archbishop he became their determined and uncompromising opponent. The whole story of this dispute has not yet been told. Purcell was not allowed to say all he knew. Manning was not the man to brook opposition or independent action of any kind. He must be sole and absolute master, and so refused to allow the Jesuits to open a single school anywhere in London or its neighbourhood. It is remarkable also to notice how great was Manning's sympathy with the Irish. To him Ireland was still the Isle of the Saints, and deserving of Home Rule—that is, Priest Rule. He even thought that 'the presence of the million Irish in England and the sympathy of Catholics in Ireland was the thing which would save us [the English Catholics] from low views about the Mother of God and the Vicar of our Lord.'

In 1870 the Vatican Council was held at Rome. Manning was present, and, as may be gathered

from the words just quoted, he at any rate had no 'low views' as to the Pope's infallibility. The wonderfully graphic and informing 'Letters of Quirinus' (Lord Acton) show how entirely Manning was on the Pope's side. He found but one fault with the dogma. In his view it did not go far enough. He declared that the infallibility of the Pope had always been a doctrine of the Church 'which could not be denied without mortal sin and proximate heresy.' He would have wished that every distinct utterance of the Pope in every Bull, Brief, or Encyclical Letter, should be regarded as the voice of the Holy Ghost, to be obeyed without question or reserve. In this way he believed Romanism in Protestant England would be made more compact, and would present a more solid front to its opponents. His advocacy was so strong and influential in the Council that he obtained from the opposition party, which included half the English (Roman Catholic) Bishops present, the title, which Manning tells us he considered 'most glorious,' of *Advocatus Diaboli*.

In 1875 Manning reached the summit of his ambition, and was created Cardinal by Pius IX. His enthronement as Prince of the Church took place at Rome before an immense congregation, largely composed of English. The dignity was the reward of his services at the Vatican Council,

and his general support of all the temporal and spiritual claims of the Papacy.

Pius IX. died in 1878, and Manning, who was present at his death, lost a constant friend and patron. The new Pope, Leo XIII., was a different man. Mgr. Talbot, who had so continually kept Manning's name and good deeds before Pius IX., had been removed to an asylum at Passy, where he ended his life, and Manning found that all was changed in his relations with the Holy See. Newman, whom he had regarded as wellnigh a heretic, was now made his brother Cardinal, and Manning felt that almost in the very hour of his triumph his power had gone from him. He could no longer make or mar a man in England by his influence at Rome, and he became naturally 'profoundly convinced of the incapacity of the Holy Office [at Rome], and the essential injustice of its procedures and secrecy.'

A new phase of the Cardinal's life then began. His intrigues at Rome were ended, and he had leisure to consider the crying needs of those at home. As a social reformer Cardinal Manning occupied a unique position among prominent Romanists. He even incurred a certain amount of odium among his own people for his zeal, especially in the cause of temperance. He was an active promoter of the Hospital Sunday move-

ment, and was placed on the Royal Commission for the better housing of the working classes. He endeavoured to abolish vivisection, and to punish those who were guilty of cruelty and outrage on children and young girls. He espoused the cause of the London dockers. Even Mr. John Burns, Ben Tillet, Mr. Henry George, and other Socialists, as well as Mr. W. T. Stead and 'General' Booth, were received with welcome at the Archbishop's house, to consult on measures of social reform. He was also a strenuous advocate for the claims of voluntary schools. In this way Cardinal Manning achieved a position of prominence in English society. He was constantly associated with the present King Edward VII., then Prince of Wales, and became a familiar figure at the banquets of the Lord Mayor and the garden parties of Marlborough House, and was also popular among the masses as another 'Grand Old Man.'

Cardinal Manning's great energy continued to the end of his life, and he was hard at work when an attack of bronchitis carried him off on January 14, 1892. After lying in state for some days, he was buried in Kensal Green Cemetery, and his remains have been recently removed to the new cathedral in Westminster. His character was too complex to be summed up in a few lines.

The middle phase was the least favourable, but there is reason to hope that he underwent a change for the better in his latter days. We may safely say that he was a happier man as the guest at Trent Park, and as curate of Woolavington, than he ever was as Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster.

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CHAPTER XXVI

CARDINAL JOHN HENRY NEWMAN
(1879—1890)

THE spiritual life of Cardinal Newman is of such surpassing interest to all religious minds, and has been so fully and so recently described, both in his own 'Apologia pro Vitâ Suâ,' and in his 'Letters and Correspondence,' edited by Miss Mozley, that it would seem a presumptuous and impossible task to give any just or adequate account of that wonderful history in the few pages that are at our disposal here. Yet for the sake of continuity, and to bring our 'Story of the English Cardinals' up to date, it has been thought well to place here some few particulars concerning the life of not the least of the English members of the Sacred College.

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN was born in London in 1801. At an early age his religious opinions became very definite, and at the same time his imagination was largely developed. 'I was brought up,' he tells us, 'from a child to take great delight in reading the Bible.' The Bible and Sir Walter

Scott were the chief informers of his boyish mind. Then Law's 'Serious Call' deepened his personal religious sense, while Milner's 'Church History' and 'Newton on the Prophecies' convinced him that the Pope was Anti-Christ.

At the age of fifteen Newman experienced that great change of inward conversion of which he writes in the 'Apologia,' 'I am still more certain than that I have hands or feet'; and we may be allowed to say that notwithstanding all his lamentable errors and grievous fallings away, yet marks of that conversion remained sufficiently clear throughout his entire life. It is indeed one of the unfathomable mysteries of God, that it is possible to fall into very great doctrinal error, while the inmost soul remains true to Christ as the only Saviour, and such we believe to have been the case with Newman. The means used for his early conversion were, as he tells us himself, the evangelical books placed in his hands, and especially those of Romaine, Daniel Wilson of Calcutta, and Thomas Scott.

In 1822 Newman was elected Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. It was, he ever felt, the turning-point of his life. Oriel was then the centre of the intellectual life of Oxford, and there Newman formed intimate friendships with Keble, Pusey, Hurrell Froude, and many other of Oxford's

most distinguished sons. To Keble he was especially attracted. When he dined for the first time in the Common Room, he sat next to Keble, and he notes, 'He is more like an undergraduate than the first man in Oxford, so perfectly unassuming and unaffected in his manner'; and again he writes: 'I shall only mention Keble. . . . He is the first man in Oxford.'

In 1824 Newman took Holy Orders, and became curate of St. Clement's, Oxford. His letters and memoranda at the beginning of his ministry show every sign of true conversion. 'Those who make comfort the great subject of their preaching seem to mistake the end of their ministry. Holiness is the great end.' 'The doctrine of Christ crucified is the only spring of real virtue and piety, and the only foundation of peace and comfort.' He even thought of becoming 'a missionary in a foreign land'; but he adds, 'no matter where, so that I die in Christ.'

After two years Newman resigned his curacy, and devoted himself to tutorial work, till he was appointed Vicar of St. Mary's in 1828. He had then become a decided High Churchman, yet kept so far true to his first love as to consent to act as secretary for the Church Missionary Society at Oxford. On November 7, 1830, he records in his diary: 'Preached for C.M.S. St. Mary's,

collection £16. 11s. 6d.' Soon, however, the great divergence between his views and those of the Church Missionary Society became too apparent, and he resigned the secretaryship.

A serious disagreement between Newman and the Provost of Oriel forced him to retire from the tutorship, and, his health being somewhat unsatisfactory, the winter of 1832-1833 was spent in a long Mediterranean cruise. It was during this winter that Newman made his first visit to Rome. His letters show us clearly how great was the fascination that Rome exercised upon his imagination. He believed in all he saw. 'It is the city,' he said, 'to which England owes the blessings of the Gospel.' Yet, on the other hand, he was not insensible to the superstitions and corruptions of the Roman system, for he writes: 'I fear I must look upon Rome as a city still under a curse: the corrupt religion (and it is very corrupt) must receive severe inflictions.'

Continually we find a conflict in the mind of Newman between his inner Christian soul and his love of æsthetic effect. 'As to the *Roman* Catholic system, I have ever detested it so much, that I cannot detest it more by seeing it; but to the Catholic system I am more than ever attached, and quite love the little monks: they look so innocent and bright, poor boys!' Then he

attended the Easter services, and writes at the conclusion of his visit : ‘ We are all of us charmed with Rome ’ ; but adds, ‘ Oh, that Rome were not Rome ! but I seem to see as clear as day that union with her is impossible.’

It was on this visit to Rome that Newman met Cardinal Wiseman, who never afterwards left him alone. Again and again in his correspondence he expresses his annoyance at the visits of Roman priests, who came to him at Oxford armed with introductions from Wiseman and requests that hospitality and civility might be shown them.

During the voyage home Newman wrote some of his most beautiful poems, including the well-known favourite, ‘ Lead, kindly light,’ which was written during a calm in a fog in the Straits of Bonifacio. To a correspondent who asked for an explanation of the last lines Newman says that he agrees with Keble, that ‘ poets are not to give a sense to all that they have written ; for the art of poetry is *the expression, not of the truth, but of imagination and sentiment.*’ In these words we surely have the secret of the middle of Newman’s life. Newman lived in an unreal mystic element of poetic sentiment. He did not see things as they really were, but as they existed in his own imagination. It is, indeed, a remarkable fact that long after Newman had become a Roman Catholic,

and even a Cardinal, almost at the close of life in 1885, he handed over to an Anglican lady the letters and correspondence from which we have quoted, to be published at her discretion with only this significant reserve: 'I wish you to keep steadily in mind, and, when you publish, make it known, that I am cognizant of no part of your work.' Poor Cardinal Newman! not cognizant of his own correspondence, and not wishing to be—handing it over just as it was—not daring to look at it, lest he should be obliged to withdraw some, or, perhaps, even the greater portion of it, and wishing to be able to say, 'I am cognizant of no part of your work.' We may, indeed, echo back from the bottom of our hearts the words of his younger days, 'Oh, that Rome were not Rome!'

We now come to the second period of Newman's life, from his return to Oxford in 1833 to his reception into the Roman Church in 1845. It was a period marked by great literary activity, during which the Oxford or Tractarian Movement was being gradually developed. 'Keble gave the inspiration, Froude had given the impetus, then Newman took up the work.' Thus Dean Church describes the starting of the new teaching. But to Newman belonged the chief share in its success. 'He had great gifts for leadership.' It was a

necessary consequence of his transcendent genius and the fascinating style of his writing that he should be first in such a movement. By his celebrated 'Tracts for the Times,' culminating in the famous Tract XC., and by his four-o'clock sermons at St. Mary's, marked, as they were, by the beauty of language, the pathos of sentiment, the 'solemn sweetness' of his voice, and the moral earnestness which characterized all that Newman ever wrote or said, he acquired an influence which captivated and dominated not only the impressionable minds of the younger generation, but also the more matured minds of not a few of their seniors. Keble confessed that he was fairly 'carried off his legs' by Newman's sanguine enthusiasm, and, looking back in 1858 on these early days of the movement, said: 'Now that I have thrown off Newman's yoke, things appear to me quite different.' William George Ward in his later days was wont to ask: 'Was there ever anything in the world like his [Newman's] influence over us?' J. Anthony Froude says that, 'compared with him all the rest were but as cyphers, while he was the indicating number.'

For a time Newman strove to maintain what he called the *via media* — a middle position between Rome and Calvinism. His advocacy of this *via media* was hailed by the moderate High Church

party as the setting forth in the most powerful way of the principles of the Anglican Church, as they had been represented by such men as Andrews, Laud, Butler, and Hammond. But those who knew him best marked a certain restlessness and want of repose which indicated a coming change. Some were heard to whisper, 'Our great Admiral will transfer his flag to another ship.' Soon the shadow of a hand seemed to his imagination to appear on the wall, and the thought arose in his mind that perhaps Rome was right after all. 'I had lost confidence in myself,' he writes. Newman then plunged into the study of the Fathers and the ancient heresies. He thought that he detected first Monophysite and then Semi-Arian errors in the Anglican Church. One sentence of Augustine against the Donatist heretics — 'Securus judicat orbis terrarum' (The judgment of the [Christian] world must be right)—seemed to him to pulverize his *via media* theory. From that time a period of ever-increasing uneasiness and distress of mind set in. Unhappily for Newman's peace of soul, he does not appear to have turned in that dark hour to the Word of God, which had been a lamp unto his feet in the days of his youth. He did not seek to try Romanism by what God had said, but even wrapped himself more and more in the mystic teachings of the

Fathers. He was guided by his emotions rather than by his reason—by subjective sentiment rather than by objective truth, while his intellect was so subtle that it beguiled him and persuaded him that anything that he chose to do was absolutely true and right.

In 1841 Newman published Tract XC. In this remarkable treatise he strove to interpret the Thirty-nine Articles, not by their literal sense, nor in accordance with the views of those who wrote them, but by what he called ‘the one Catholic sense,’ or ‘the belief of the Catholic Church.’ A tempest of indignation against this extraordinary evasion of the plain meaning of the Articles burst forth on all sides. It was clear that, if this method of interpretation were allowed, the Articles and every other Church confession could be made to mean anything or nothing.

Newman bowed beneath the storm. He left Oxford, and retired to the little village of Littlemore, some three miles distant. ‘I was now,’ he says in the ‘Apologia,’ ‘on my death-bed, as regards my membership with the Anglican Church.’ Yet he knew it not. On the contrary, he loudly professed that his chief aim was to keep the young men who gathered round him at Littlemore from ‘going over.’ But they were walking on the edge of a precipice, and some were boasting how near

the edge they could safely walk ; and one after another, notwithstanding Newman's efforts, fell over. It is not a man's words, but his life, that tells. Newman's heart was already with Rome, though his words were still stout for the Anglican Church. There is no sadder thing than for a man to preach to others what he has ceased to believe for himself.

And so the darkness grew more dense. Rome cast a longing eye on the possible distinguished convert whom she sought to win. Roman books and pamphlets were sent to him ; Roman priests hovered round him. While the heads of the English Church denounced, as they were bound to do, the insidious treachery of his writings, the Roman Church showed all possible sympathy and desire to welcome him to her bosom. Is it wonderful that he wrote on resigning St. Mary's Vicarage : ' I do so despair of the Church of England, and am so evidently cast off by her ; and, on the other hand, I am so drawn to the Church of Rome, that I think it safer, as a matter of honesty, not to keep my living ?'

Yet for a long time the worship of the Virgin Mary and the invocation of Saints remained a stumbling-block in his way. Newman knew his Bible too well to believe that any such worship or adoration is countenanced in its sacred pages.

But a new theory arose in his mind, which virtually made the Word of God of none effect. This was the Doctrine of Development. According to this doctrine, it mattered not whether any practice or teaching was to be found in the Bible or not. If it had been developed by the Church it must be received as of Divine inspiration. This solved every difficulty, and before his 'Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine' was even finished, Newman was privately received into the Church of Rome by the Passionist Father Dominic, whom he had invited to visit him at his residence at Littlemore.

The news of his secession staggered men's minds for a time. Lord Beaconsfield called it a blow under which the Church of England reeled. But Newman had ere this lost much of his influence at Oxford. The movement which he began had largely passed into the hands of Dr. Pusey. The Tractarian had become the Puseyite. Consequently, the departure of Newman was not accompanied by any great secession of those who had once been associated with him. He simply disappeared out of the Anglican Communion.

As soon as Newman's reception into the Roman Church was known, he received a flattering letter

of welcome from Cardinal Acton, and also from Dr. Wiseman, who invited him to Oscott, where he stayed some months. But he also received letters of regret and sorrow from his old friends. Nothing can be more heart-rending than the beautiful letter of Keble, dated October 11, 1845, in which he closes their long and affectionate correspondence. He almost charges himself with having been the cause of the disaster. 'I keep on thinking,' he wrote, 'if I had been different, perhaps Newman would have been guided to see things differently.'

In the autumn of this eventful year Newman visited Rome, and, having been ordained to the Roman priesthood and made a Roman Doctor of Divinity, he returned to England with a commission from the Pope to introduce into England the Oratorians of St. Philip Neri. The first Oratory was established at Birmingham, and afterwards moved to Edgbaston. The second, which became even more famous, was placed at Brompton, under the headship of Father Faber. During the first years of his Roman life, full of a convert's zeal and as yet not disillusioned by painful facts, Newman produced his most famous lectures and sermons. Their impassioned eloquence, not unmingled with gentle and delicate irony, carried away the hearers, and led not a few who were still

hesitating to surrender to Rome. One of these lectures, however, in which he attacked an ex-priest, named Achilli, with unmeasured severity, led to a trial for libel, in which Newman was fined £100, and incurred costs amounting to £14,000, which were defrayed by a public subscription. The most celebrated of his sermons, which has seldom, if ever, been surpassed for pathos and power, was that on 'the Second Spring,' or revival of the Roman Church. The text was from Cant. ii. 10, 11 : 'Arise, make haste, my Love, my Dove, my Beautiful One, and come. For the winter is now past, the rain is over and gone, the flowers have appeared in our land.' In it Newman dwelt lovingly on the change of attitude in England towards the Roman Church. The dark days were gone, never to return, and a brilliant future was prophesied for the Roman faith in our land. It was preached before the first Provincial Synod, held at Oscott on July 13, 1852.

In 1854 Newman went to Dublin as Rector of the newly-established Roman Catholic University. When his name was proposed to Cardinal Cullen, he exclaimed : 'If once we had Dr. Newman as President, I would fear for nothing. After that everything would be easy.' He did not know the limitations of Newman's powers. He was indeed joined by another brilliant but erratic genius

Aubrey de Vere, but neither possessed the sober common sense and steady perseverance which is necessary to make such an experiment successful. Another attempt to found a Roman Catholic College at Oxford also fell to the ground, chiefly through the determined opposition of Cardinal Manning and his party.

In the year 1864, Charles Kingsley wrote in *Macmillan's Magazine* that 'Truth for its own sake has never been a virtue with the Roman clergy. Father Newman informs us that it need not be, and, on the whole, ought not to be.' Kingsley had not quoted Newman fairly, and was certainly worsted in the controversy which ensued. This dispute led Newman to write his best-known and most fascinating book, 'The Apologia pro Vitâ Suâ.' The public were captivated by the apparent candour with which the writer described the soul-history of the first half of his life. But the victorious side is not always the most deserving. In a work too little known, entitled, 'But is not Kingsley Right after All?' by Canon Frederick Meyrick, the terrible accusation of Roman untruthfulness is shown to be only too well merited. Mr. W. E. Gladstone, writing to Canon Meyrick, summed up the matter thus: 'Dr. Newman has immeasurably the best of it in the rest of the controversy, but I think he will

find it difficult to make a sufficient answer to you. Nor shall I be surprised if he proves to be of the same opinion.'

We must now allude to the most painful period of Newman's life, during which he was in constant conflict with Cardinal Manning. Purcell has revealed much of what passed, but he has not told all. He dared not do so. The two men walked in different paths, and they had a profound distrust of each other. In Newman's opinion Cardinal Manning was at the head of 'an insolent and aggressive faction,' 'who stated truths in the most paradoxical fashion, and stretched principles until they were close on snapping.' Manning, on the other hand, looked on Newman as 'an unsound and disloyal Catholic,' a dangerous man, who must be kept under, if not crushed. 'I see much danger,' he wrote, 'of an English Catholicism of which Newman is the highest type. It is the old Anglican patristic literary Oxford transplanted into the Roman Church.' For years these illustrious converts neither met nor wrote to each other. But Manning had the ear of Pope Pius IX. His friend and ally Mgr. Talbot was one of the very few men with whom the Pope was on intimate terms, and Mgr. Talbot was the deadly foe of Newman, and was scarcely restrained from formally charging him with heresy. All

this time Newman remained quietly in his Edgbaston Oratory, feeling that he was suspect, as indeed he was.

No position is so melancholy as that of one who knows the truth, but tries to force his belief to agree with Papal dogmas. Newman was always ready to sacrifice reason to sentiment. His apology for the monstrous miracles of Rome is sufficient to destroy his reputation as a sound thinker. Yet he was looked upon as too liberal in his views to be regarded with favour by Pius IX. and the *Curia*. Newman's Papacy, the Papacy for which he left the Church of England, was a theological Utopia, and very far from his realized experience.

In 1877 Newman was elected Hon. Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and saw Oxford again for the first time since his departure in 1846. He was received with much honour, and visited Dr. Pusey and some of his former friends. In the same year Pius IX. died, and was succeeded by Leo XIII. Manning's influence at Rome was now at an end. The Duke of Norfolk, the Marquess of Ripon, and other leading English Roman Catholics, represented to the new Pope the great services which Newman had rendered to the cause in England, and the universal respect in which he was held, and consequently Leo XIII.

showed his appreciation of Newman by creating him Cardinal in 1879. The honour was wholly unexpected. 'At last,' said Newman, 'the cloud has lifted'—words which showed how keenly he had felt his position, though he had borne the trial so meekly.

But though the unsought dignity consoled his wounded spirit, it came too late to be of value. Cardinal Newman went to Rome to receive the hat, but he was broken in health, and lived in great retirement till his death on August 11, 1890.

It is interesting to notice as an example of the way in which the feeling generated by controversy dies away that, whereas Mr. Tait, when Fellow of Balliol, was one of the four Oxford tutors who denounced the teaching of Newman, yet the hymn of Cardinal Newman, 'Lead, kindly light,' was the hymn chosen to be sung over the grave of Archbishop Tait.

One further incident in the Cardinal's closing days is found in the Life of Richard Cadbury, of Birmingham, by his daughter, Mrs. Alexander, and is worth recording. When the Roman Catholics engaged in Mr. Cadbury's works began to attend the little service at Bourneville, with which business was opened at 9 a.m., the priests became alarmed, and the venerable Cardinal called

on the Brothers Cadbury to talk the matter over. The Cardinal was then growing feeble, and at the close of the conference the two brothers helped him, with respectful courtesy, into his carriage. Before closing the door, Richard Cadbury clasped his hand warmly, saying: 'Well, Cardinal, we are all one in Jesus Christ.' Though not hazarding an affirmative reply, the old man returned the pressure of his hand.

CHAPTER XXVII

CARDINAL EDWARD HENRY HOWARD (1877—
1892), AND CARDINAL HERBERT VAUGHAN
(1893—1903)

DURING the cardinalate of Manning yet another Englishman received the red hat, so that during the period 1879 to 1890, no less than three of our fellow-countrymen were members of the Sacred College.

EDWARD HENRY HOWARD was born at Nottingham. He was the eldest son of Gyles Howard, who was a grandson of the twelfth Duke of Norfolk. Young Howard was educated at Oscott, and afterwards at Edinburgh, and then received a commission in the 2nd Life Guards, and became a great favourite in London society. As an officer of remarkably handsome appearance, he was chosen to command the squadron of Life Guards that led the military procession at the funeral of the great Duke of Wellington.

But a grave illness, followed by a winter at Rome, aroused serious thoughts in his mind, and he determined to leave the army and enter the

Roman priesthood. Accordingly, he went to Rome, and was admitted into the *Academia Ecclesiastica*, or 'Purple' Seminary, so called because so large a proportion of its students received the purple insignia of episcopal rank. While there he had for fellow-students both Manning and Herbert Vaughan, the two future Cardinal-Archbishops. He usually served Father Manning's Mass at 6 a.m., and thus became on intimate terms with him.

Mr. Howard was ordained priest by Cardinal Wiseman in the chapel of the English College, at 4 a.m. on December 8, 1854—on the very morning of the day when Pius IX. solemnly defined the dogma of the Immaculate Conception at St. Peter's. Father Howard greatly desired to go forth as a missionary to the Eastern world, and with this view studied Oriental languages, especially Arabic, Coptic, and Hindustani, in all of which he became very proficient. At the request of Pius IX. he visited Goa, in Western India, in order to arrange some difficulties which had arisen between Portugal and England concerning the ecclesiastical government of the province of Goa.

But the Pope would not allow Father Howard to leave Rome permanently, and he therefore spent the greater part of his life in Italy. He was a great favourite with Pius IX., and when

Mgr. Talbot was removed to an asylum, Father Howard, to some extent, took his place as confidential English adviser to His Holiness. He was also greatly beloved by the poor of Rome, and was especially revered by the soldiers, to whom he often acted as Father Confessor. In Roman society his graceful and dignified figure became very familiar.

In 1872 Howard was consecrated Bishop of Neo Cæsarea *in partibus*, and five years later was made Cardinal-Priest of the Church of SS. John and Paul on the Cœlian Hill, thus taking the same titular church as his collateral ancestor, Cardinal Philip Howard, had done 200 years before. The Cardinal now lived in the Negroni Palace, and was appointed Protector of the English College, to which he bequeathed his magnificent library. He strongly advocated the restoration of the Scottish hierarchy, which was one of the first acts of Leo XIII.

Cardinal Howard was an active member of the Propaganda, and took the keenest interest in Roman Catholic missions. His extraordinary linguistic powers enabled him to hold long interviews with Oriental ecclesiastics, when they visited Rome, and he had it greatly at heart to promote the reunion of the Western and Eastern Churches.

In 1881 Cardinal Howard was made Archpriest and Prefect of St. Peter's, and in 1884 he became

Cardinal-Bishop of Frascati, both of which offices had been formerly held by Cardinal Henry Stuart, Duke of York. In 1887 a serious illness came upon him, which produced mental trouble, and incapacitated him for all further work. He was brought to England in the hope that his native air might prove beneficial ; but it was not so, and his mind becoming seriously affected, the Cardinal lived in strict seclusion in the neighbourhood of Brighton until his death, on September 16, 1892. He was buried in the FitzAlan Chapel of the ancient parish church of Arundel, and it is interesting to note that his old regiment of the 2nd Life Guards was represented at his funeral, at which Cardinal Vaughan officiated.

The last English Cardinal whose story we have to record is HERBERT ALFRED VAUGHAN. As the head of a county family, which in the old penal days had suffered much for its adherence to the Papal cause, Dr. Vaughan was very acceptable to the large class of old Romanists, who were not too favourable to the convert class as represented by Cardinal Manning.

Herbert Vaughan was born in 1832. He was the eldest son of Lieutenant-Colonel Vaughan, the owner of the beautiful estate of Courtfield Manor, near Ross, in Monmouthshire. His

mother, whose maiden name was Rolls, was an enthusiastic convert to the Roman Church. At an early age Herbert Vaughan relinquished his birthright to his younger brother, Colonel Francis Vaughan, and dedicated himself to the service of the Church. He was educated first at Stoneyhurst, and then at the 'Purple' Seminary at Rome, and was ordained priest at Lucca Cathedral in 1854. The Vaughan family was very remarkable for the 'religious vocation' of its members. An uncle of the Cardinal was Bishop of Plymouth; five of his brothers were priests, one of whom was an Archbishop; four of his sisters were nuns, and among his cousins were several priests and nuns. The best known of the family is Father Bernard Vaughan, S.J., who, in the present year (1907), has become famous for his outspoken, but, we trust, somewhat exaggerated, denunciations of the sins of 'smart' London society.

After joining for a short time the Oblates of St. Charles, Father Vaughan devoted his energies to the project of founding an English seminary for foreign missions at Mill Hill, near London. With this object he collected funds both in North and South America, and eventually established St. Joseph's College, Mill Hill, with considerable success. From this college came the Roman Catholic missionaries now working in Uganda.

In 1872 Dr. Vaughan was consecrated Bishop of Salford by Archbishop Manning. As Bishop of Salford he displayed much energy in completing the cathedral, building new churches, chiefly dedicated to his patron, Saint Joseph, and also a diocesan seminary and Bishop's house. He was also one of the founders of the Catholic Truth Society. He himself wrote and published a series of 'People's Manuals,' which inculcated in the most extreme form veneration of relics, the use of the scapular, and other Roman superstitions. It would be difficult to find so many and so sad perversions of Holy Scripture in such a small compass as are contained in the Bishop of Salford's 'Who is Joseph?' He took for his motto, 'Go to Joseph,' and believed that it was by the aid of Joseph that he raised so quickly the money needed for his cathedral.

Such was the man who, on the death of Manning, was translated to the archiepiscopal See of Westminster. For the first time since the days of Queen Mary, an Archbishop was invested in England with the pallium, sent from Rome. This took place with great pomp at the London Oratory on August 16, 1892. A few months later, in January, 1893, the new Archbishop was created Cardinal.

One of the first acts of Cardinal Vaughan was

to reverse Manning's decision against Roman Catholics residing at Oxford. He even arranged for the establishment of Roman Catholic halls for students at the University. He also entirely reversed Manning's policy as regards the Jesuit Order. His own brother was a prominent Jesuit, and was brought from Manchester to London, and slowly, but surely, the Jesuits gained control over the Roman Catholic press, and became the most influential Order in London. At the same time the foreign Orders, including the notorious Paris Assumptionists, received a warm welcome, and were allowed to establish themselves wherever they pleased in London and its vicinity.

The administration of Cardinal Vaughan was not altogether a success. He was involved in many vexatious broils with the secular clergy, and notwithstanding his aristocratic connexions and his earnest zeal for his Church, he failed to keep in touch with the English public, as did Manning and Newman. Several of his acts tended to alienate him from English sympathy. He was believed, not without reason, to have influenced Leo XIII. to utterly reject the validity of English Orders, and thereby he estranged the High-Church Anglican party. The cruel and intolerant way in which the dying Professor St. George Mivart was excommunicated, and funeral rites

refused to his remains, raised a storm of indignation against the Cardinal. Worst of all was his singularly injudicious letter forbidding his clergy to celebrate any Requiem Mass for Queen Victoria. The people of England did not, indeed, ask for or desire any Requiem Mass for the soul of their beloved Queen, resting, as they doubted not, in the Paradise of God ; but they resented the tone of the letter as insulting to her Majesty's memory. Yet another foolish act—a blunder worse than a crime—was the translation of the bones of the Saxon King, St. Edmund, from Toulouse to England. By the Cardinal's direction they were deposited in the Roman Catholic Church at Arundel, after a religious ceremony of great splendour, and were intended ultimately to be removed to the new Cathedral at Westminster. Cardinal Vaughan was a great believer in relics ; but the utter absurdity of supposing that the bones of King Edmund ever were, or could have been, mysteriously transported to Toulouse covered the Cardinal with ridicule, and in all probability no further notice will be taken of them.

The great monument which Cardinal Vaughan has left behind him is the vast and strange structure known as the Westminster Cathedral. The front is greatly wanting in taste, but the vast size of the dome and the magnificent marbles from

the isles of Greece with which the interior is adorned, together with the mosaics in the roofs of the chapels, produce an undoubtedly imposing effect. Part of the cost was defrayed by the site of the former pro-cathedral in Moorfields; but many of the clergy of the diocese deeply regretted the expenditure of so much money, which was sorely needed for their missions.

As the end of life approached, Cardinal Vaughan left the care of his diocese to a coadjutor, and retired to his beloved Missionary College at Mill Hill, where he died on June 9, 1903. A fitting memorial of the late Cardinal has recently been erected in the new Cathedral, but his body rests where he died, at Mill Hill.

APPENDIX A

THE BULL OF POPE ADRIAN IV. EMPOWERING
HENRY II. TO CONQUER IRELAND, A.D. 1155

(*Lyttleton's 'Life of Henry II.,' vol. v., p. 371.*)

‘**B**ISHOP ADRIAN, servant of the servants of God, sends to his dearest son in Christ, the illustrious King of the English, greeting and Apostolic benediction. Laudably and profitably enough, thy magnificence thinks of extending thy glorious name on earth, and of heaping up rewards of eternal felicity in heaven, inasmuch as, like a good Catholic Prince, thou dost endeavour to enlarge the bounds of the Church, to declare the truth of the Christian faith to ignorant and barbarous nations, and to extirpate the plants of evil from the field of the Lord. And, in order the better to perform this, thou dost ask the advice and favour of the Apostolic See. In which work, the more lofty the counsel, and the better the guidance by which thou dost proceed, so much more do we trust that, by God’s help, thou wilt progress favourably in the same ; for the reason that those things which have taken their rise from ardour of faith and love of religion are accustomed always to come to a good end and termination.

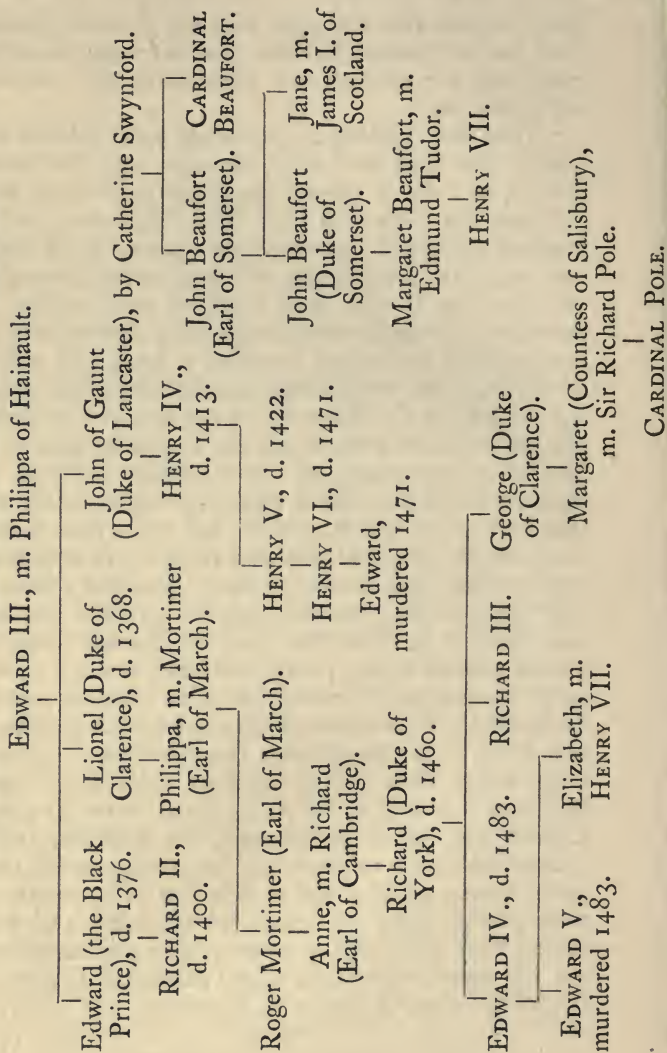
‘There is, indeed, no doubt, as thy Highness doth also acknowledge, that Ireland and all other islands, which Christ the Sun of Righteousness has illumined, and which have received the doctrines of the Christian faith, belong to the jurisdiction of St. Peter and of the Holy Roman Church. Wherefore, so much the more willingly do we

grant to them that the right faith and the seed grateful to God may be planted in them, the more we perceive, by examining more strictly our conscience, that this will be required of us.

‘Thou hast signified to us, indeed, most beloved son in Christ, that thou dost desire to enter into the island of Ireland, in order to subject the people to the laws, and to extirpate the vices that have there taken root, and that thou art willing to pay an annual pension to St. Peter of one penny for every house, and to preserve the rights of the churches in that land inviolate and entire. We, therefore, seconding with the favour it deserves thy pious and laudable desire, and granting a benignant assent to thy petition, are well pleased that, for the enlargement of the bounds of the Church, for the restraint of vice, for the correction of morals and the introduction of virtues, for the advancement of the Christian religion, thou should’st enter that island, and carry out there the things that look to the honour of God and to its own salvation. And may the people of that land receive thee with honour, and venerate thee as their master; provided always that the rights of the churches remain inviolate and entire, and saving to St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church the annual pension of one penny from each house. If, therefore, thou dost see fit to complete what thou has conceived in thy mind, strive to imbue that people with good morals, and bring it to pass, as well through thyself as through those whom thou dost know from their faith, doctrine, and course of life to be fit for such a work, that the Church may there be adorned, the Christian religion planted and made to grow, and the things which pertain to the honour of God and to salvation be so ordered that thou may’st merit to obtain an abundant and lasting reward from God, and on earth a name glorious throughout the ages.’—*Extracted from ‘Historical Documents of the Middle Ages,’ by Ernest F. Henderson.*

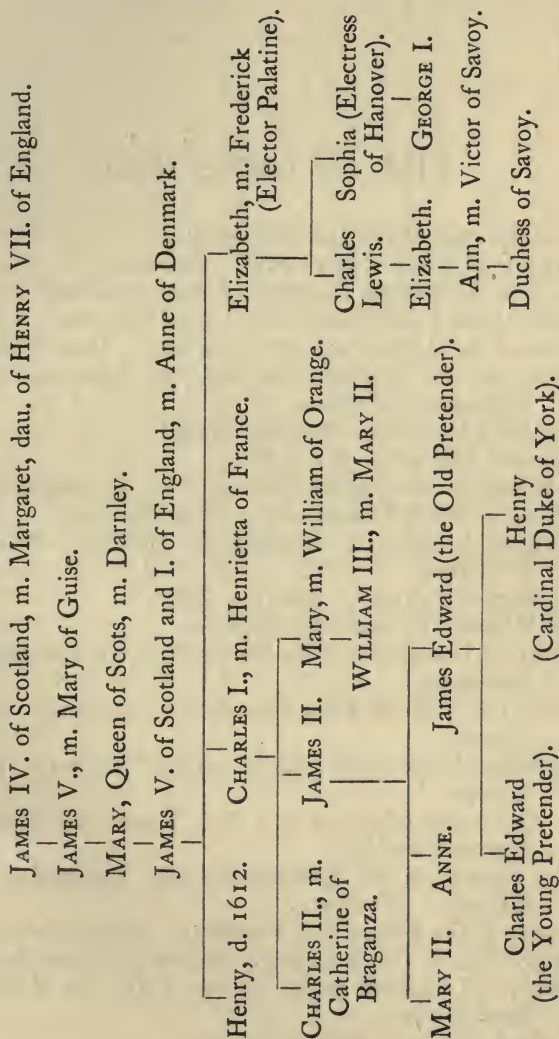
APPENDIX B

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSES OF YORK AND LANCASTER, SHOWING
THE DESCENTS OF CARDINALS BEAUFORT AND POLE



APPENDIX C

TABLE OF THE STUART ROYAL FAMILY



LIST OF BOOKS USED

- The National History of Biography.
 Gesta Pontificum Romanorum. Palatius.
 Lives of the Roman Pontiffs. Artaud de Montor.
 Lives of the Lord Chancellors. Lord Campbell.
 Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury. Dean Hook.
 Lives of the English Cardinals (to Pole, inclusive).
 Folkestone Williams.
 England's Cardinals. Dudley Baxter.
 Diocesan Histories. S.P.C.K.
 A History of the English Church. W. R. Stephens.
 History of Latin Christianity. Dean Milman.
 Wayside Lectures in Ecclesiastical History. Professor
 C. Bigge.
 Renascence Portraits. Paul van Dyke.
 Sēti Bernardi Epistolæ (for Pullen).
 Historical Documents of the Middle Ages (for Breakspear).
 Henderson.
 Henry the Third and the Church (for Langton). Abbot
 Gasquet.
 Memorials of Canterbury Cathedral (for Langton). Dean
 Stanley.
 St. Catharine of Siena and her Times (for Easton).
 Methuen and Co.
 The Dawn of the Reformation (for Repyngdon and
 Hallam). Workman.
 History of the Papacy (for Beaufort). Bishop Creighton.
 John of Gaunt (for Beaufort). Sidney Armitage Smith.
 History of England under Henry VIII. (for Wolsey).
 Lord Herbert.
 Cardinal Wolsey. Bishop Creighton.

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- Thomas Wolsey, Legate and Reformer. Father Taunton.
Life of Blessed John Fisher. Rev. T. E. Bridgett.
Life of Cardinal Pole. Frederick G. Lee, D.D.
History of the Jesuits in England (for Allen). Father
Taunton.
One Generation of a Norfolk House (for Allen). Dr.
Jessopp.
Pepys' Diary (for P. Howard).
Evelyn's Memoirs and Diary (for P. Howard).
The Popish Plot (for P. Howard). John Pollock.
Queens of England (for P. Howard). Agnes Strickland.
The Last of the Royal Stuarts (for Cardinal York). H.
Vaughan.
Modern Rome in Modern England (Wiseman to
Vaughan). Philip Sidney.
Recollections of the Last Four Popes. Cardinal Wise-
man.
Moorfield Lectures by Cardinal Wiseman.
Life and Times of Wilfrid Ward (for Wiseman).
Life of Cardinal Manning. Purcell.
The Authoress of 'The Peep of Day,' by her Niece (for
Manning). R.T.S.
Memories of Life at Oxford (for Manning and Newman).
Canon F. Meyrick.
Apologia pro Vitâ Suâ. Newman.
Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman. Anne
Mozley.
The Oxford Movement (for Newman). Dean Church.
Lord Acton and his Circle (for Vaughan). Abbot
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